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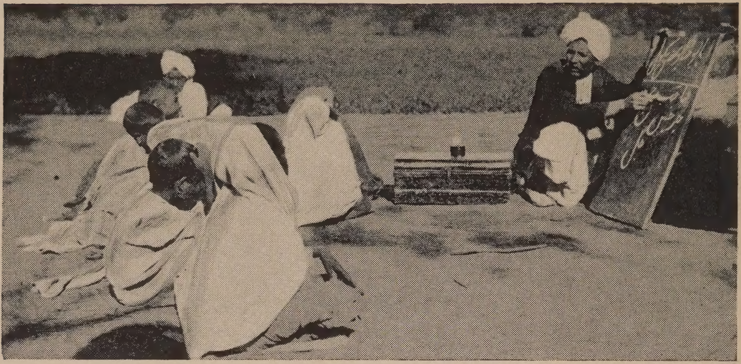

Plate I—A Village School

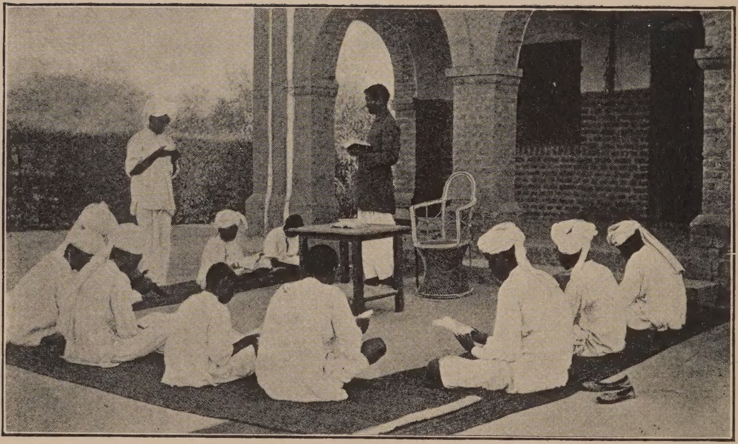

Plate II—A "Close to Nature" Study Group

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NEW SCHOOLS FOR YOUNG INDIA

A Survey of Educational, Economic, and Social Conditions in India with Special Reference to More Effective Education

BY WILLIAM J. McKEE, PH.D.

Professor of Education in the University of North Carolina;
Formerly Principal of the Village Teachers'
Training School, Moga

WITH A FOREWORD

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CHAPEL HILL

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1930

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TO
NELL W. AND MARY F. MCKEE
MY WIFE AND MY MOTHER

A FOREWORD

Two THINGS seem fitting in this foreword, the one a few words of appreciation of the author and of his work during 1920-24 at Moga in the Punjab, the other some reference to the wider significance of the school and of its program as described in the book.

Such is the modesty of Dr. McKee that one need hardly know from his account that his ideal is already a very lively actuality, still less that it has excited an amount of favorable interest and comment seldom accorded to experiments in primary education. But such are the facts. His rural mission school has made for India the very name Moga a symbol of new things, a vision and a hope of the reconstruction of primary village education not only in India but even in remote regions elsewhere. It was with surprise and pleasure that in 1925 I received a visit from the vice-principal of a mission training college in Scotland who journeyed to the United States explicitly to learn more about the "project method" of which such favorable accounts were coming from Moga in India. Up to that time I had hardly heard of Dr. McKee's work, but the corroboration of all this and more has been ample from what has been learned since. The Government of India in 1922, in appreciation of Dr. McKee's services to rural education in that country, decorated him with the silver Kaiser-i-Hind medal (as it has done again in 1928 in the case of Mr. A. E. Harper, Dr. McKee's worthy successor at Moga).

Throughout India, as I myself can say, government officials, Indians, and missionaries know and discuss the work started at Moga. In parts of Africa, as reported by my colleague, Professor Carney, Dr. McKee is the best known American educator, made so by the representations of the British colonial authorities as they have commended the work at Moga. It was a peculiar pleasure to meet in Moga in 1926 the divisional inspector of schools, Mr. S. B. Sardar Bishan Singh, and note his pride in the fact that it was he who had first recognized the worth of the Moga experiment, as it was also to meet Sir George Anderson, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, and to learn from him his approving opinion and in particular that he was organizing a training college in the province to spread the general Moga idea. It would be poor praise to Dr. McKee or Mr. Harper to allow the thought that they count their plan already adequate for the regeneration of the Indian village school; they would be the first to deny it. But that a great and promising step forward has been taken, seems to me, at any rate, an undoubted fact. The grounds for this belief are worthy of further consideration.

The worth and promise of the Moga experiment seem to lie in its astonishing success at securing and co-ordinating a number of contrasted and often warring elements. It is a commonplace of modern education that in order to meet its task the school must, on the one hand, secure a high degree of pupil initiative and self-directed endeavor and, on the other, that it must make for social service. The more usual efforts the world over find it difficult to get both of these at once. Dr. McKee, in the judgment of competent observers, got both and each in a high degree. There is no need to anticipate here how the "project idea" as worked out in his curriculum secures both pupil interest and effort and pertinent individual understanding, on the one hand, and social significance and bearing in what is learned, on the other. But one who has seen will not soon forget the eagerness of the fourth-year market boys, for example, or, still more, that of the hospital group, nor is it possible to doubt the practical value of what they were learning and using. And the two sides were not artificially tied together, they were inherently joined in one unified on-going round of experience. With these boys, living and learning went together, each in remarkable degree helping the other into being. When the market boy ate the radishes and his accounts told the tale, arithmetic was actually at work and public honesty was being taught in a way that promises much.

A second antithesis and opposition which has given particular concern in India has been the difficulty of securing and still more of co-ordinating "book-learning" with a serviceable reconstruction of Indian life. In both lower and upper schools progress in the curriculum has too often meant by just so much the boy's removal from effectual service in actual Indian life into a region of mere selfish wish to be supported at general expense. Dr. McKee's work, however, has, in a remarkable degree given actual advance in the use of books with a no less definite part in the actual scheme of bringing to India in healthy form the social reconstruction made necessary by contacts with modern science and industry. This point calls for elaboration.

At a famous agricultural school in India the present writer heard an instructor ask in despair, "How can I teach the use and care of agricultural machinery to a boy who, before coming here, has never even had a hammer in his hand?" The question cuts deep into the complexities of the Indian situation and can never be answered in the right way till the school system accustoms the boy, from earliest childhood onward, to join his thinking and his book-learning with actual doing, hand and otherwise, of a kind that enters intimately into Indian life and culture. This Dr. McKee's plan undertakes to do. On no other basis, it would seem, can we reasonably hope to get the needed flexibility of concrete thinking, the indispensable working belief in the superiority of causation over Karma, and the practical willingness to attack actual problems in a commonsense way. One shudders to think of the misery in store for those villagers in India and elsewhere in the world who, when it shall come, as come it must, cannot psychologically make the shift from an old and merely traditional civilization to the moving and changing civilization of modern industry. It is this type of actual thinking about actual affairs in an actual situation that gives to the experiment under consideration perhaps its chiefest interest.

Two other successes at co-ordinating in Dr. McKee's scheme need only be mentioned. Many have seen, from one end of India to the other, the need for "vocational" and other "practical" education, but most efforts have, in effect, taken these as external additions to the ordinary scheme, with the result that the final effect has been slight. It sickens the heart to learn how many students of agriculture in India are preparing merely to teach agriculture, anything but use it themselves in farming. The problem is, to be sure, a very different one in the higher schools from what it is in the primary school, but it seems doubtful if any advanced vocational work can meet wide success in India which has not founded itself on some such unified head-hand-heart program as that herein contemplated.

At this point some will be troubled lest the cultural and other higher spiritual aspects of life are to be overlooked. The argument is too involved for adequate consideration here. Possibly it will suffice to suggest that culture and spirit are not best conceived as separate from the rest of life but as inherent in the whole of life. Let us have done with disparate and separating dualisms. Let Indian children begin their cultural life in actual connection with actual existent Indian culture. On this foundation let them proceed continuously to the highest attainable reaches, but let the process always be continuous, and let the higher be a culture which derives its worth and virtue from its power of return to actual Indian life and from the possibility which it shall possess to lead and inform this life to the highest. This conception of culture is well served by such work as that done at Moga.

Many will wonder and some may smile that so much seems attributed to one rural school experiment. Let there be no misunderstanding. No one could claim that these wider and better things must come. It does, however, seem fair to claim that on some such basis as that herein described our best hopes stand. Let those who doubt think it through. Wherever in the world the old farming village yet remains practically untouched, there is the need and hope of the kind of school which Dr. McKee began at Moga.

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PREFACE

One of the most vital problems facing India today is that of providing a basic education for its teeming millions of people. It is a problem that has agitated the Government, India's leaders, and private agencies for many years. Government officials have emphasized the urgent need of mass education in order to meet approaching social and political responsibility. As an indication of this, one has but to note the many discussions in the press or on the public platform, the frequent appointments of committees of inquiry and investigation, and the publication of reports and pamphlets on this subject. All over India at present there is a strong conviction of the importance of primary education and the necessity for its extension, if India is to take her rightful place among the nations of the world. Differences of opinion exist, doubtless, as to the type of education to be given and as to the means of extending it, but there is no question as to the urgency of the need.

This attitude is in marked contrast to that of fifteen or twenty years ago. Then, the largest amount of attention and an undue proportion of public funds were devoted to secondary and higher education. This condition was due partly to the indifferent attitude of the masses to education and partly to the mistaken theory held by the Government that education would "filter down" from the educated Indian leaders to the masses. Today, however, both the educated classes and the Government, as well as a gradually increasing number of village people, feel the necessity of widespread educational opportunity and are tackling vigorously the whole problem of primary education.

This change of attitude has been brought about by a number of factors. First and foremost was the pronouncement of his Majesty's Government on August 20, 1917, that "the goal of British rule in India is the progressive realization of responsible government of the kind enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions." All thinking people realize that "responsible government" necessitates at least the fundamental elements of education for as large a proportion of the population as possible.

Another vital factor was the return to the villages of the many Indian soldiers who had fought valiantly in the Great

War. These men saw, in the various countries which they visited, the great advantages of even an elementary education, and they returned to their homes as active advocates of education for their fellow villagers.

A third important factor has been the persistent efforts of India's leaders to secure compulsory primary education. They have argued that the progress made by the British in educating India's multitudes has been discouragingly slow and that at the present rate centuries would elapse before India would be literate. In its own defense the Government of India has maintained that financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight, together with the poverty of the people and their inadequate realization of the value of education for their children, have made it inadvisable for them to make education compulsory. Moreover, most of the illiterate people (approximately 86 per cent), live in small, isolated villages—a fact which makes the cost and administration of education a very serious problem. Other hampering influences have been the social and religious attitudes of the people, the scarcity of trained teachers, and the lack of essential educational facilities. Indeed, it is probable that no government has ever before had an educational problem of such magnitude and difficulty. The problem of the education of the Filipinos or of the Japanese or even of the Africans, is not to be compared with the task of providing India with an education which will develop her people and help them to contribute to her national uplift. Only China furnishes a parallel, and even China is not hampered so greatly as India by racial, social, and religious cleavages.

A fourth important factor in the change of attitude toward primary education has been the transference of the Provincial Departments of Education to popular control, under the direction of an Indian Minister. In most cases this has resulted in increased efforts on behalf of primary education and in considerable progress in that field. In several provinces special five-year programs of advance (described on pages 44-50), have been undertaken with considerable success, not only in increasing the number of schools and pupils, but in extending and deepening public interest in education.

Following the memorable pronouncement of August 20, 1917, both the official and non-official members of the legislative councils of practically all the provinces felt the urgent need of a policy leading to a more widespread primary education, and from 1918 to 1921 the various provinces enacted permissive compulsory primary education acts. Bombay passed the first one in 1918, but it was later repealed and replaced by a more workable act in 1923. Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, Bengal, and the United Provinces followed with similar measures in 1919, and the Central Provinces and Madras passed their acts in 1920. These acts, while differing in the extent of the areas and the ages covered by compulsion and in certain financial and administrative policies, are all permissive in application and leave the initiative of introducing compulsion with the local bodies.

The progress made in the various provinces under these acts differs greatly. Local authorities, especially in the village areas, have, in general, not shown much eagerness in enforcing the provisions of the acts. The poverty of the village communities, the unwillingness to spare children from gainful work, and the lack of public approval of the present type of education are hindering causes. Many local bodies feel that the initiative in the matter of compulsion should come from the Government. Mr. J. M. Sen, in his study, *Primary Education Acts in India*, states that he considers two amendments essential before the acts will work effectively: first, the acts should compel the local authority to apply for permission within a stated period to introduce compulsory education in its area; and second, Government should compel the local authority to levy an education *cess* (tax), and should fix the proportion of expenditure to be borne by Government and by the local authorities. Fundamental measures toward the successful operation of these acts would certainly seem to involve more adequate financial provision, and, what is probably even more fundamental, a change of attitude toward education on the part of the masses.

This change, however, is not likely to manifest itself until *primary education is so remodeled that it is vitally related to the people's life and needs.* Only when parents are convinced that education makes life more nearly complete and more satisfying are they likely to be willing to send their children to school and keep them there. This relating of the school to the life of the people is considered by many to be the fundamental problem of rural primary education, and government authorities are keenly aware of the unsatisfactoriness of the existing curriculum. Indian leaders have condemned it in unmeasured terms. In fact, the National Education Movement was, in part, a protest against the foreign character and lack of adaptation of the existing course of study.

These criticisms of present educational conditions indicate how important and urgent is a careful investigation of all necessary factors in order to secure an efficient indigenous primary school curriculum. Up to the present, no such thorough investigation has been made, but it is clear that it is greatly needed before large sums of money are spent upon extending a system of education which has already proved unsatisfactory.

The writer realizes that there are many other large problems connected with rural education besides the fundamental one of determining a satisfactory curriculum and that these problems greatly influence the type of curriculum which can be successfully utilized. Such problems are those of finance, trained teachers, building and equipment, suitable literature, availability of pupils, attitude of parents and community, relation of the rural schools to higher institutions and to the Educational Department. But while all these conditioning factors will be kept in mind throughout this study, the position will be strongly maintained that the best possible type of education will prove the most economical in the end and that there is no reason why India should pass through all the intermediate educational experiences and mistakes of the West before she accepts and utilizes the highest and best educational ideals and practices of the present day.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to work out a suggestive and practical method of procedure for developing a curriculum which will help toward an effective rural elementary education in the Punjab. By "effective" is meant such an education as will function for the fullest development of the rural child and for the improvement of his home and community.

To accomplish this purpose four distinct investigations have been undertaken, the first dealing with the history of education in India, the second dealing with the educational system of the present, the third dealing with environmental conditions as they affect education, and the fourth dealing with modern social and educational ideals and theories in their relation to India's educational problem.

While the criteria and principles deduced from these investigations may have a general application, the conditions in various parts of India differ so widely that it would be impossible to develop a single curriculum fully adapted to the needs of all sections. This study, therefore, has been confined to a single province, the Punjab. It has also been limited to the rural elementary schools, not because the educational goals for rural schools are different from those of urban schools, but because social conditions vary so widely that the pedagogical method of approach cannot be the same.

This study also includes brief descriptions of outstanding Government, national, and missionary schools which are demonstrating the value of some of the best educational ideals and practices of the present day and whose results, both in the development of pupils and in the improvement of their environment, prove the possibility of India's adopting and benefiting by the best that modern educational theory has to offer.

It is hoped that the procedure utilized in this study and the principles deduced may furnish stimulation and guidance to many educators in India in the improvement of existing rural school curricula and that it may result in much more experimentation and concentrated effort in finding a solution for the difficult and imperative problem of improving, enriching, and enlarging village community life.

If such stimulation and experimentation are outcomes of this study, much credit will be due to the helpful guidance and encouragement of the members of my dissertation committee. To these teachers and advisers, Professors Fannie W. Dunn, Wm. H. Kilpatrick, Frederick G. Bonser, I. L. Kandel, and Wm. F. Russell, I owe a debt of gratitude, not merely for their helpful suggestions and constructive criticisms in connection with this study but also for ideas and inspiration which led to many of the most successful educational activities undertaken at the experimental village school at Moga.

It is also a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to many other educational colleagues in America and India and to the students and staff of the Moga School, especially to the headmaster, the Rev. Samuel Jiwa, for their loyal co-operation and their willingness and desire to try out ideas and plans for the improvement of instruction and the progress of the school.

Appreciative acknowledgment is also due to Mr. and Mrs. Leonard K. Elmhirst and to the International Education Board, whose generous assistance has made this study and its publication possible.

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WILLIAM J. MCKEE

The University of North Carolina
September, 1930

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PART I

A REVIEW OF EDUCATION IN INDIA AND THE PUNJAB WITH REFERENCE TO CURRICULUM-MAKING

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT AND EARLY VILLAGE EDUCATION

ANCIENT EDUCATION

THE ANCIENT schools of India were held not in populous sections but in the midst of natural surroundings, on the banks of a river or in the depths of a forest. The center of influence was the humble hut of the guru, or teacher. These huts were often surrounded with little gardens of flowers, vegetables, fruit trees, and plants, which were looked after by the guru and his students. The beauty and peace, the joy and freedom of nature were emphasized in the teachings of the guru. Nature was looked upon not as something to be overcome or subdued but as a friend and teacher. To the guru and his pupils, God resided in and spoke through the flowers and leaves, the birds and beasts, the sky and clouds, the sunshine and rain. Nature was a textbook which was reverently observed and studied, and it greatly influenced the attitudes, the ideals, and the appreciations of the pupils. "A very pleasant feature of ancient Indian education," says one writer, "was that it made man a friend rather than a foe of nature. It created universal sympathy in the heart of man. This feeling rested not so much on an ethical principle as on a metaphysical notion that all nature is pervaded by Brahman; therefore nothing in the universe should be treated cruelly or unkindly."[1]

The teachers of these forest schools, or asrams, were hermits who had left the haunts of men and the vanity of life and had given themselves to meditation and to the study of reality, religion, and philosophy. Their lives were often marked by a spirit of humility, reverence, meditation, hospitality, and piety. No travelers, pilgrims, or seekers for truth were turned away from their doors. Simple living, deep thinking, and a willingness to assist those who came to them for guidance and help often marked their lives.

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[1] "Eastern Ideas of Education," a paper read before the Calcutta Missionary Conference, Nov. 5, 1917. *Brahman* represents the Absolute, the Supreme, while *Brahma* is used to designate the first person of the Hindu Triad (Trimurti).

The students in these schools were comparatively few in number and were especially selected from the three thrice-born castes (Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas), the Brahmans predominating. They came to be instructed in religion and philosophy, in preparation for their work as leaders of the thought, culture, and religion of India. They left their families and made the asrams their homes until their education was finished, which often took many years.

When the pupils first arrived desiring admission to the asram, they came bearing loads of firewood, symbols of their desire to serve the guru. This was more than a mere symbol, however, for throughout their course of study they were expected not only to look after their own welfare and daily needs but to perform regular acts of service for the teacher and his family. Manual work was not despised or dissociated from education but was a part of the school's discipline and training.

The guru was always looked up to as a sage and as a master. He expected and received the respect and submission of his pupils, and although the relationship between teacher and pupil was close and intimate, it was not that of equals but more that of a father and his children. No fees were charged, but when the course of training was finished, pupils frequently made the guru a present of jewels, cattle, or money as an expression of their gratitude.

The intimate personal relationship between the teacher and pupil; the great influence upon the thought, attitudes, and habits of life wrought by such an association; the living apart from the world and close to nature, and the emphasis upon religion and intensive meditation were striking features of this ancient education. Its main objective was the preparation of men who might not only be the guardians and conveyers of India's cultural inheritance but who might add to its store of knowledge through meditation and study, usually apart from the world. The results obtained over a period of years, especially in the fields of philosophy, poetry, and religion, indicate that the education given did contribute toward these ends.

From these schools Sudra[2] children and outcastes were excluded, as were also girls of every caste. The very few exceptions to this principle only serve to emphasize that it was a general rule. Ancient India had no conception of the right of every child to receive the rudiments of knowledge.

---

[2] The lowest of the four great Hindu castes, the artisan and laboring caste.

Objectives of Ancient Education

A primary aim of this early education was, as indicated above, to develop scholars and leaders who should not only be versed in India's ancient lore but who should also develop desirable habits of life, observation, meditation, and creative effort, especially with reference to religion and philosophy. Emphasis was therefore placed upon the development of certain appreciations and attitudes toward life, nature, and God. These were desired so that students while in the asram might learn to give time and thought to religion and to the perplexing problems concerning existence, salvation, and the universe. Such attitudes and habits were to be built up through the teacher's example and through the reverent, meditative atmosphere of the asram.

Another objective was the cultivating of the attitudes of obedience, patience, and willingness to work. From the beginning, the pupil's eagerness and sincerity in the pursuit of education were tested by his faithfulness and persistence in doing ordinary and even menial tasks. He might be sent to gather fuel in the forest, to bring water from a near-by stream, to tend the cattle, to look after the garden, to glean corn, or even to beg food in the neighboring village. These duties were not assigned primarily for their educational value; yet, until they became a matter of routine, they possessed some intellectual and moral benefits.

A third aim was the acquiring of self-control and the abstaining from luxury. The pupil's life was a simple one, and gradually he was expected to secure control not only over physical desires but also over mental and emotional excesses. His food was simple, his meals carefully regulated, as were also his rest and exercise. He was expected to sleep on the ground and was not to spend any time sleeping during the day, even in the hot season. He was to bathe each day and keep his body and clothes clean. His clothes were meagre, simple, and inexpensive. Luxury in all its forms was to be rejected.

Emotional self-restraint was emphasized. The pupil must not abuse anyone or show signs of anger. He was to look upon all women as his mother or sisters. His mind was to be kept pure and all his passions were to be brought under control. All phases of his life were to be controlled by strict discipline and while the emphasis was largely upon an ascetic type of morality, individual habits were often developed which strengthened and buttressed his life. Much of the moral teaching was in negative terms: the pupil was to abstain from certain foods; he was not to injure any living creature; he was to refrain from strife; he was to avoid various amusements; he was not to be untruthful or deceitful. In general he was to mortify his body and bring it under subjection.

A fourth aim was to teach reverence for what is established and respect for constituted authority. The guru was invested with great authority and expected from his students not only obedience but reverence. He was to be addressed in terms of honor, and pupils were to show their respect and humility by embracing his feet. "Students must not sit when the guru is standing, or sleep when he is awake." They were not to speak first but to wait patiently until recognized by him. The guru consented to impart his information only when he felt that the personality and attitude of the pupils were such that they could be trusted with the truth. The highest and deepest learning was usually imparted reluctantly and then only to students showing an active interest in and an earnest desire for knowledge. The requisite mood was a receptive one, doubt and criticism being looked upon as disrespectful. The teacher was willing at times to discuss a subject informally with his students but even then the emphasis was upon attitudes of humility and reverence. The pupil secured most from his guru by humble request, respectful questioning, and faithful imitation.

A fifth aim was to attain to a fuller understanding of God (Brahman), the only reality, all else being considered an illusion. India has ever sought God, and her search has been an earnest and persistent one. Her greatest thinkers and philosophers have ever given themselves unreservedly to unravel the mystery of the universe and to understand more fully its Creator and Preserver. These men have evolved deep and subtle philosophies dealing with life and religion. The subject matter for ancient education was the study of some of these philosophies and of the Vedas, upon which they were based. Since Brahman was the only reality, the highest truth, the only object of knowledge, to find him and to know him "was to equip boys both for this and the next life."[3]

Side by side with the study of the Vedas, which they had to learn orally from the lips of their preceptors or from palm leaves, there was the study of the Vedangas, or adjuncts of the Vedas. These consisted of all the important subjects, the knowledge of which was necessary for life; e.g., medicine, logic, agriculture, soldiering, etc. . . . Ancient education was not secular in the modern sense. The beginning and end of education was Brahman (God). Religion and morals not only formed part of the curriculum but were taught by living examples of ascetic and religious conduct. . . . The guru taught morals not by hard and dry rules but by personal contact with his pupils and by the influence of his life. The sacrificial altar in the center of the yard, around which were sung psalms from the Sama Veda, was a living monument to the devotion of the asram to God.[4]

Last of all, emphasis was placed (particularly in matters concerning living arrangements) upon the development of self-reliance and of a sense of responsibility. Pupils were expected to do things for themselves and not to rely upon others for the necessities of life. Manual work and education were not considered mutually exclusive and antagonistic. Since the manual work performed was supposed to keep pupils physically fit, no time was given to sports. Considerable time and opportunity were allowed, however, for pupils to meditate, to study nature, and to reflect upon the teachings given. In general it may be said that freedom and responsibility, rather than organization and rigidity marked the instructional side of the asram, despite the very great emphasis placed upon the memorizing of the Vedas.

EVALUATION OF ANCIENT EDUCATION

In the asrams some of India's ancient leaders, philosophers, priests, and teachers were educated. The contributions which they have made to religion, philosophy, and literature lead one to try to discover what elements in their education produced such thoughtful, creative minds. In the first place, the students were few in number and constituted a highly selected group. Second, the teacher was typically a man of high character, studious, devout, and deeply interested in his pupils. Third, the close association of teacher and pupil led, on the one hand, to the teacher's knowledge of the abilities and characteristics of his pupil, and, on the other, to the pupil's seeking to imitate his respected master both in life and in thought. Fourth, the spirit of freedom, the lack of rigidity and system, together with the feeling of close contact with God and nature and with the problems of life thus presented (associated with the teacher's thoughtful, reverent handling of these perplexities), led to habits of thought, observation, introspection, and analysis. While the subject matter available was relatively small, being restricted largely to the Vedas and to religious and philosophical writings, nature furnished a most comprehensive source of educative material.

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[3] "Eastern Ideas of Education," a paper read before the Calcutta Missionary Conference, Nov. 5, 1917.

[4] *Ibid.*

It is obvious today that the greatest weakness of the system was its lack of social contact and emphasis. It was ascetic in its methods and in its relationships to society and its problems. To find and know God, to obtain individual salvation and development rather than to regenerate society, were the aims set up; and the education given was definitely designed to secure these aims. Social and active striving in life, with its ambitions and unsatisfied desires, was something from which release must be secured, and hence social contacts and social service had little place.

The prevailing philosophy emphasized that the world, with all its activities, was unreal and illusory, the aim being to penetrate behind these to reality and permanence. Since only Brahman (God) was reality, such things as evil, injustice, and oppression were but illusions, Brahman being in all and behind all. With such a philosophy there could be but little stimulation for the study of social life, for full moral development, for social interaction and activities, or for thinking and laboring for social regeneration. This type of life and training, however, still grips the imagination of most Indians, and even the modern, Western mind feels the appeal of its simplicity, its ascetic discipline, its cultural emphasis, its communion with nature, and its intimacy of relationship between teacher and pupil.

Early Village Schools

In the ancient system of education relatively few and specially chosen students were trained for religious leadership, but as the value of this education became more apparent and as its need by other members of the population was somewhat realized through environmental demands, there was developed another type of educational institution—the village day school. Since the need for such a school was felt chiefly by those engaged in trade and in literary pursuits, the pupils came from the three upper castes. As in the case of the forest schools, Sudras and out-castes were not admitted.[5]

The most interesting thing about these village schools was the status given to the teacher. "The school master had a definite place assigned to him in the village economy, in the same manner as the headman, the accountant, the watchman, and the artisan. He was an officer of the village community, paid either by rent-free lands or by assignment of grain out of the village harvest."[6] This payment was often supplemented by gifts from the pupils or their parents. The teacher held a position of honor in the community and "at most festivals celebrated in the village, a share of the good things collected for the occasion were set apart for his use. On marriage and harvest days, he was never forgotten and always had his share; in fact, he was treated as one belonging to the household of each family and he possessed the common interest of all."[7]

It is quite probable that these early teachers in the village schools were priests and that many of them had received their education in the forest asrams.[8] It was to be expected that these men, with their own educational experience and traditions, realizing the value of the ancient education in producing thinkers, philosophers, and religious leaders should emphasize the type of training with which they were familiar and should feel that it was the education which should be given in the village schools, not realizing that they were dealing there with different types of pupils, in a different environment, and with different needs and aims. The result was that the merely outward and mechanical phases of the ancient education were evident in the village schools, while the inward spirit and life were increasingly absent. Although the people demanded simple subject-matter skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic, such as were needed in their daily life and work, instruction was largely confined to the simplest elements of these skills, and the emphasis continued to be placed upon the reading of sacred books, the memorizing of sacred writings, and worship. The method was largely one of verbal memory, through repetition.

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[5] "Throughout the long history of indigenous education in India, it is impossible to find any indications that these classes ever came within the range of the system of public schools which existed from ancient times.—Allan, *Education in India*, pp. 50-53.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 49. [7] J. Matthai, *Village Government in British India.*

[8] "The earliest injunctions bearing on the duties of priests laid upon them the obligation, not merely of ministering to religion but of imparting instruction in the rudiments of knowledge." Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

Thus, instead of an education growing out of and being developed in relation to the nature and needs of the village, a mere imitation of the education which the teacher had received was given. Instead of the teacher's selecting experiences which truly met the needs of his pupils, he attempted to make them fit (as far as that was possible) into his own educational traditions. Sanskrit, sacred culture, and philosophy had been good for him; therefore these must also be good for the pupils under his care. The results, of course, were merely superficial and mechanical and did not affect the pupils' life and character to any appreciable extent. While the veneration for the teacher was retained, the intimate relationship between teacher and pupil characteristic of the asram was lacking and the consequent influence much diminished. The emphasis upon observation and meditation, the close relationship to nature, the value of self-activity were largely replaced by mechanical routine and prescribed subject matter. The atmosphere of worship and the emphasis upon character development were also much weakened.

There was one interesting development, however. The lack of funds generally prevented the employment of more than one teacher, who often had divided interests and duties. The teacher, therefore, was frequently assisted by monitors, or pupil teachers, and there is a strong probability that this monitorial system, which was later used extensively in the West, was first evolved in India.

Under the conditions described above, it is not surprising that education gradually decreased in effectiveness, so that "with the break-up of the Indian government after Aurangzeb (1707) misery and anarchy submerged education, and it sank to such a low level that it ceased to have any influence on the country."[9]

This disorganization was hastened first, by the gradual decadence of the village community, so that it ceased to function effectively as an organic unit; and second, by a lowering of the position and status of the teacher, so that instead of his being a village employee, with an honored place in the community, he became a casual worker. The school also became a casual day school, frequently attached to a place of worship; it decreased in educational prestige, lost its touch with village life, and became merely a formal, mechanical affair, continuing to emphasize religious subjects and classical writings far beyond the understanding and interest of its pupils in both language and content.

Pre-British Schools in the Punjab

Previous to the occupation of the Punjab by the British, there existed three types of schools in that province, which were differentiated by religious loyalties and traditions. These were the Hindu schools, the Moslem schools, and the Sikh schools. In the Hindu schools (*Patshalas*), instruction consisted in the rudiments of arithmetic and reading in Hindi or Londas, a crude adaptation of the *Basha* script, and in the reading and writing of the trader's script and accounts. In the Moslem schools (*Masjid, Madrassa*), the Koran in Arabic and the didactic and poetical works of Sa'di in Persian (the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*) were taught. In the Sikh schools instruction dealt with the reading of the *Granth* (the religious book of the Sikhs) in Gurmukhi and the rudiments of arithmetic.[10]

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[9] J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Government of India*, p. 159.

[10] "'In the Persian, Arabic and Goormukhee schools, the studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either.' We may safely conjecture that the standard of educa-

A remarkable fact concerning pre-British education in the Punjab is that there was a certain amount of education for girls—a thing almost unknown in other parts of India.[11]

Lucas, in his *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, says of the schools:

> The school house was primitive; such as a private dwelling, the village Assembly-hall (generally a shed), the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussalman schools were nearly all connected with the Mosque. In such a case the same endowment would support both institutions.
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> The remuneration of the teachers was variable and precarious. It frequently consisted in presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents. But occasionally the whole community subscribed "for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough." . . . Though disproportion existed in the numbers of the educated in the three communities, there was less difference than in Hindustan. In some parts of the Punjab the agricultural population also received education.[12]

The method of instruction in these early schools of the Punjab did not differ from that of other village schools. Since pupils were taught classical and religious literature, and since much of it was in the classical language and not in the colloquial vernacular, cramming and memorizing were necessarily resorted to. No attempt was made to adapt either the subject matter or its presentation to the children.

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tion, as compared with other countries on account of the total absence of the teaching of the physical and natural sciences and use of a familiar language was unsatisfactory indeed." E. D. Lucas, *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, pp. 11-12.

[11] "It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers belong to all the three sects. The number is small, but the existence of female education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance." *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the Years* 1849-50-51.

[12] Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Lucas also says that at the time of the British conquest the percentage of the people who could read and write was low, though higher than in the lower provinces. He gives the following table (*ibid.*, p. 11):

		One School to Every	One Scholar to Every
Punjab	1. Lahore	1,783.98 inhabitants	214.85 inhabitants
	2. Jhelum	1,441.90 inhabitants	193.10 inhabitants
	3. Multan	1,666.66 inhabitants	210.88 inhabitants
Agra (Presidency)		2,912.20 inhabitants	326.14 inhabitants

INFERENCES FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING[13]

A brief summary will help to focus the experience of these early schools upon the problem of curriculum construction. In the asrams of ancient India the following valuable educational aims are apparent: (1) Emphasis placed upon self-activity; (2) a friendly and reverent attitude toward nature; (3) emphasis upon cultural subjects, such as religion, philosophy, folk tales, epic poems, racial traditions; (4) an intimate affectionate relationship between pupil and teacher; (5) abundant time for meditation upon the problems of life and the universe; (6) a strong religious motive pervading all the life and thought of the school; (7) a spirit of considerable mental freedom, together with an absence of rigid organizations and fixed programs, so that the pupil's acquiring of knowledge depended to an appreciable extent upon his own eagerness for it; (8) emphasis upon the formation of desired attitudes and ideals and the development of character; (9) a high conception of the dignity of manual labor and of its compatability with intellectual pursuits; (10) a belief in strict self-discipline as an aid in the building of character.

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[13] In order to secure objectives and guiding principles for curriculum construction, we must have standards by which to judge whether educational experiences are beneficial or harmful. In a later chapter such standards are developed in detail. Here, however, the more general criterion of *all that makes for the growth and development of each individual child in socially beneficial ways* will be assumed, as follows:

1. Criteria for judging *individual growth*: (a) Increasing responsible freedom in the choice of ends and means, with the acceptance of responsibility for the results; (b) The continuous enlargement and enrichment of life experience, ever reorganized to more valuable and better ways of acting; (c) Increasing power of self-direction, self-control, and self-reliant power to do socially beneficial things; (d) Increasing power of analysis, reflection, evaluation, and suspended judgment; (e) Systematic diagnosis and elimination of weaknesses, shortages, and failures; (f) Development and use of creative thinking capacities and contributions; (g) Integrating and balancing life, physical, mental, emotional, into a harmonious whole—a well-balanced personality; (h) Breadth of view in social and human affairs and increasing power to adapt to changing situations; (i) Expansion of horizons, of outlook and insight, with the consequent formation of valuable purposes and responses; (j) Many varied and valuable interests, which ever lead on to more and greater interests.

2. Criteria for judging *social growth*: (a) Many socially valuable common interests and purposes which are consciously known, chosen, and shared by members of the group; (b) Full and free interaction and interchange, the give and take of experience; (c) Increasing freedom of choice as to ideas, means, and ends, but with emphasis upon group deliberation and its responsibility for results; (d) A developing spirit of co-operation in thinking, planning, effort, and evaluation for ends which are contributions to the welfare of society; (e) Personal interest in the welfare of the group (and of each of its members), with a sense of responsibility for both successes and failures; (f) A developing esprit-de-corps and community of relationship—"the common good sought with good will"; Wise and sympathetic guidance in the experience of democracy and the developing of leadership. The making, obeying, enforcing of rules for the common good; (g) Ever wider interests, interactions, and co-operations with many other groups; (h) An unselfish outlook, taking in wider human circles, with a sense of individual and group responsibility for improving affairs; (i) Devotion to an expanding, altruistic ideal and to a great social cause (highest unselfish motives used to reach worthy social ends).

But curriculum guidance can also be secured from the weak and unsuccessful sides of ancient education, as these have become evident in succeeding years of experience; and among the characteristics that do not seem to have made for the fullest development of the individual are the following: (1) the development of leaders from a highly selected group, to be guardians of the existing social order rather than progressives and reformers; (2) the lack of any criticism of social and economic life and of current morality; (3) emphasis upon the ascetic ideal and individual development rather than upon the social ideal and social growth and progress; (4) the stressing of passive and negative virtues, rather than socially dynamic ones; (5) a narrow and local curriculum; (6) the failure to motivate manual labor toward educational ends; (7) the absence of sports and games and the consequent loss in physical and social development; (8) the discouragement of healthy, intellectual inquiry, honest doubt, and constructive criticism; (9) the undue dominance of the guru resulting from the fact that memorizing was the chief method employed in education; (10) and the lack of educational opportunity for the masses.

In the early village schools, the best points were the following: (1) the high social status and influence of the teacher; (2) the close relationship between education and religion; (3) the development of the monitorial system, which, in its best form, implies the helping of the more backward pupils by the most capable; (4) and, in the Punjab at least, some recognition, however slight, of the desirability of education for girls.

The other characteristics of the village schools are chiefly warnings as to what should not be done in curriculum-making, for, by taking over in their entirety phases of ancient education, without regard to the fact that conditions were dissimilar and that the pupils to be educated differed in ability, interests, and needs, most of the virtues of the asrams were lost while the weaknesses were retained. The consequent defects of education in the early village schools may be rapidly restated as follows: (1) the formal and mechanical nature of education resulting from the fact that subject matter and method bore no relation to the pupil's life and social needs, the language used being unfamiliar (classical), the subject matter far beyond his capacity, and the method that of memorizing and cramming; (2) the neglect of attempts to form desirable ideals, attitudes, and appreciations; and (3) the primitive, inadequate, and often unhealthy housing and equipment.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH EDUCATION, 1813-1835

Two Conflicting Points of View

The central fact in the history of education in India under the British is the conflict between two points of view. On the one hand are those who believe that education in India should be indigenous, dealing with her ancient culture and conducted through the medium of her native tongues; on the other are those who advocate the introduction of Western culture through the medium of the English language.

At first the policy followed by the British as represented by the East India Company was that of encouraging oriental culture and of making no attempt to introduce Western learning.[1] But in renewing the East India Company's charter in 1813 the British Parliament ordered that the Company devote a lakh of rupees for "the revival and improvement of literature, the encouragement of the learned people of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India."

The ambiguous terms of this Act of 1813 (especially the phrase "the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences") led to a prolonged and fierce controversy over the respective merits of Eastern and Western culture for Indian education; and over the use of English or of the vernaculars as media of instruction. The directors of the East India Company interpreted the Act to mean that Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and oriental cultures were to be encouraged. In 1815 Lord Moira issued his Minute, in which he discussed the conditions of the village vernacular schools and then proposed improvements. Little of a constructive nature was done, however, until 1823, when a general Committee of Public Instruction was formed, which made a survey of schools and colleges and formulated suggestions for improvement.[2] The Committee also established several Sanskrit colleges (Calcutta, Delhi, and Agra) and spent a large sum of money in printing Arabic and Sanskrit books, which included both oriental classics and translations of European books. It established some English classes in the Sanskrit colleges and undertook the general direction of the Calcutta Hindu College, which had been founded in 1816 by the Indians themselves, with the aid of David Hare.

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[1] "In the early days of its dominion in India, the East India Company had little inclination for what it considered the doubtful experiment of introducing Western learning into India. Warren Hastings, the dominating figure of the time, was a genuine admirer of the laws and literature of the East. His policy was to enable the ancient learning to revive and flourish under the protection of a stable government and to interfere as little as possible with the habits and customs of the people."—*Indian Year Book, 1923,* p. 450.

The work of this Committee has often been criticized. It has been charged with conducting itself not as a committee promoting public education but as one endeavoring to revive and promote Eastern culture. It has also been charged with establishing and supporting such institutions as would train men in Hindu and Moslem procedure and in other departmental phases of work favorable to the East India Company.[3]

The Committee defended itself by saying that the teaching of English and English learning would be offensive to Indians and that it would be impossible to do it successfully. Yet the demands for English education were constantly increasing. Moreover, the Hindu College at Calcutta, which emphasized Western learning, had been in successful operation for many years. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, one of its famous founders, justified its policy by stating that the "Indian was instinctively a philosopher and mystic and that he greatly needed the scientific point of view and the accurate training of the West." He argued that English education would contribute to oriental culture just those complementary qualities which it lacked.

The first missionary college on Western lines was inaugurated at Serampore in 1818 by Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Twelve years later, Alexander Duff opened his school (later a college) with the avowed aim of providing "Christian education, carried eventually to the highest level and given through the medium of English." Duff held the position that truth is one, whether of the East or West and that if the "purpose of Indian education is to endow India with the heritage not only of her own ancient culture but also with the great body of thought and learning built up in recent centuries in the West, then it was plainly impossible that Sanskrit (or Arabic or Persian) should be the medium of such education." He felt that Indians were worthy of the best the West could give them and that Western culture through the English language would provide them with a more liberal and fuller education. Duff was opposed by the East India Company, by the Orientalists, and by many of his missionary colleagues; but he was supported by William Carey and by the progressive reforming party of Indians.

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[2] William Paton, *Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education*, p. 89.

[3] "So far as it [the East India Company] had a conscious policy, it was to keep out those forces of education and reform which might (and indeed certainly would) modify or overthrow its own absolutism."—*Indian Year Book, 1923,* p. 16.

Duff's success was noteworthy almost from the first, and he gradually won many to his position, so that his work undoubtedly had considerable bearing upon the settling of the momentous question as to whether education in India was to be based upon Sanskrit and Arabic classics, with perhaps some admixture of European ideas, or upon European culture given almost necessarily in the medium of English. The struggle was not one between British and Indian opinion, for men of both races were on each side. The controversy finally became so intense and so handicapped educational progress that it was necessary to appeal to Government for decision.

THE MACAULAY PLAN

To Thomas Babington (later Lord Macaulay), who was at this time the Law Member of the Executive Council, fell the duty of deciding whether Government could legally apply to English education the annual grant of a lakh of rupees sanctioned in 1813 and used up to this time to further oriental culture. The famous Minute of 1835 contained Macaulay's decision. It was couched in intolerant and scornful language and displayed a deplorable lack of understanding of oriental culture, but since it laid the foundation for, and has since directed the whole educational policy of, the British in India, it is necessary before continuing an analysis of rural education in the Punjab to understand something of what is implied in the Macaulay proposal and of the educational developments that resulted from it.

Macaulay felt that there was little in Indian language and culture which could be used for higher education. He referred to Sanskrit and its literature as absurd and stated that he had never found an Orientalist who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth more than the whole native literature of India and Arabia. He declared that the question was simply whether Government should countenance at its expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy that would move to laughter the girls in an English boarding school, history abounding in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography having seas of treacle and butter. Macaulay thus dismissed with a gesture the whole ancient lore as a collection of crude puerilities and fantastic superstitions. "He wanted to sweep away everything of the past and to modernize entirely on English lines—to write on the clean slate of the Indian mind the word 'English'."[4] He advocated that efforts should be directed toward making Indians thoroughly good scholars, and he seemed to believe that Western education would be able to transform Indians into Englishmen "in everything but their complexions":

> "It may be," he declared, "that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."[5]

Macaulay further weighted the scales by declaring that unless the system of education were changed he would be obliged to sever his connection with the Committee of Public Instruction.

On March 7, 1835, one month after this Minute was issued the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, issued a resolution which declared:

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[4] C. F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, p. 26.

[5] Quoted in Chirol, *India Old and New*, p. 79.

> The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of English literature and science and all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone.[6]

No attempt was to be made to suppress existing schools, but the system of subsidizing this type of education was to be stopped, the number of professors of oriental studies gradually reduced, and public expenditures on the printing of oriental books discontinued.

Macaulay also saw little of permanent value in beginning at the bottom with the indigenous schools and thus giving the masses an opportunity for elementary education. He definitely stated:

> We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes. . . . We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them.[7]

As to the training of teachers he said:

> I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent or supply their places as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time alone can remedy; our schools are nurseries for school masters for the next generation. If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalis [Indians], they will naturally and without any violent changes, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers.[8]

In other words, the indigenous schools were to be ignored, no financial aid given to them, and no efforts made to improve the teachers or the instruction.[9] Official education was to be based upon a foreign culture, given in a foreign language, with the avowed aim of developing an educated minority who would, in ideals, outlook, and training, be more English than Indian. The system of education was to be top-heavy in the sense that a limited number were to be given a secondary and higher education fitting them for posts in Government service, with the hope that this sprinkling of education would gradually filter down to the illiterate masses. While it was also hoped that English ideas and English words would in time enrich the vernaculars and encourage the building up of a more modern vernacular literature so that the day would come when a larger share of education could be given in the vernaculars, yet it was felt that the improvement of the indigenous schools and of the vernaculars was bound to be a painfully slow process. Clerks, petty officials, and a professional class, with a knowledge of English and of Western institutions, were needed at once; and the quickest way to secure them was the Macaulay way, without regard for cultural background, traditions, or experience.

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[6] Quoted in *ibid*, pp. 79-80.

[7] E. E. Biss, *Report on Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 10.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[9] This was later reconsidered.

Certain official acts reinforced the plan inaugurated by the Macaulay Minute and provided additional stimulus for the study of English and of Western learning. "English was substituted for Persian as the language of the Courts in 1837 and in 1844 Sir Henry Hardinge ordained that preference in Government appointments should be given to those who had received a Western education."[10] Western learning was thus made the open door to Government service and "in the following decade the new learning took firm root in India; and though the Mohammedans still held aloof, the demand for English schools (Government and Mission), outstripped the means for providing for them."[11] Desire for such education became so strong that "within two years there were forty-eight institutions with an enrollment of 5,196 pupils and an average monthly expenditure of $8,000."[12]

EVALUATION OF THE MACAULAY PLAN

Before undertaking an evaluation of the new educational policy in the light of the experience of the past ninety years, it is well again to remind ourselves of the tremendously difficult and complicated problem with which the Government was confronted. Indigenous education, through internal dissensions, strifes, and invasions, had greatly deteriorated, so that there was little in the way of stable institutions to build upon. The value of India's splendid cultural inheritance was not fully understood, and it was not readily available. Sanskrit was considered a very difficult language and it was felt, probably erroneously, that it was not flexible enough to become a medium for teaching scientific subjects. There was also the problem of finding teachers who knew Sanskrit and who were versed in the best known methods of teaching. To all these handicaps must be added the great variety of languages in India (each having its own religious associations), the paucity of texts and other books in the vernaculars, the indifferent attitude toward the existing type of education, the slender financial resources available, and the fact that English was the language of the rulers. With these conditions in mind, one can understand, whatever may be his sympathies, the way in which India's institutions, culture, and traditions were educationally ignored. There can be no doubt that many of those who advocated the introduction of Western learning were actuated by a desire for India's good and that they sincerely believed such a course to be the means of opening up to India a new era of continuous development and progress.

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[10] *Indian Year Book, 1923*, p. 450.

[11] *Loc. cit.*

[12] Fisher and Williams, *India's Silent Revolution.*

But however commendable the ultimate goal may have been, it is now apparent that the methods used to attain it were faulty. The fundamental mistake was the very one which the Indians themselves had previously made in their attempts to transfer the ancient system of contemplative, religious education to the village schools with their more practical problems. In neither case was serious consideration given to the fact that the pupils' experience, needs, and environmental conditions were vastly different from those for which the prevailing type of education had been satisfactory. This error, however, was common to the times, and the British were probably no more to blame than many other peoples. The fact that English education and Western culture had accomplished much in preparing leaders in England for national and world service furnished no assurance that the same education given to Indians would produce the same, or similar, results. In fact, we now know from wide experience that this was not possible. Whenever such a complete transfer of educational ideals and procedure to a widely differing group has been made, mere formalism and externalism have resulted, and the super-imposed culture has been only a veneer on the lives of the educated and has served to separate them from, and make them unsympathetic toward, their own people.

The next great element of weakness in the Anglicists' position was that they underestimated the ingrained traditions and racial culture of the Indian people.[13] In justice to Lord Macaulay and his supporters it should be said that such a false and unappreciative attitude was almost universal in their time. Subsequent experience, however, has made many Englishmen and Indians outspoken in their condemnation of it. A prominent Englishman refers to this alien type of education, which ignores native culture, as merely a mechanical affair, and says that one cannot think effectively when restricted to a strange culture and a strange tongue. The result of such education is a "mental Eurasianism" which is appalling.[14] The Hon. C. R. Dass, late leader of the Swarajya Party, emphasizes the unreality of the system when he says, "The education which we now receive is a borrowed and imitated article. It does not co-operate with the national genius of our being and hence it is powerless to enrich the lifeblood of our soul."[15]

Another mistake in the Macaulay Plan, or rather, another phase of its fundamental mistake, was that it was destructive rather than constructive. It tended to sweep away all that pertained to the past and to start afresh on modern lines. "It was a revolutionary rather than a reforming spirit that was abroad, and revolutions generally destroy too much."[16] That the destructive method was, from the start, doomed to failure is now obvious.[17]

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[13] "It [The Macaulay Minute] displayed no appreciation of the fact that the Indian mind was a product of history and not a blank sheet of paper upon which anything could be written by any teacher. . . . The errors we have committed in our [British] schools, because we have never fully recognized that the whole conception of education had to be transformed and not merely refitted with a new apparatus of thought and conduct, we have multiplied one thousand fold in India. We have been seeking to transfer Western civilization into the Indian mind gutted of its Indian traditions. We have imposed a school discipline and a school psychology which are English and then have wondered at our failure."—J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Government of India*, pp. 165, 169.

[14] *Loc. cit.*

[15] Quoted in Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 97. See also the following: "The burden of this theme is not that the learning of the West is valueless for the people of the East, but that under the existing system, foreign education occupies all available space in the Indian mind and so kills or hampers the greatest opportunity for the creation of new thought power by a new combination of truths."—*The Center of Indian Culture*, paper published by the Society for Promotion of National Education, Madras, 1919.

A fourth characteristic of the system inaugurated by Macaulay was that it emphasized higher education for the few at the expense of elementary education for the masses. In this, however, it did not differ from previous native education. The higher castes of Hindus and some representatives of other religions had for generations filled administrative positions in whatever government happened to be in power. These people desired to prepare themselves for similar positions in the British Government and hence appealed for English education. On the British side, the Government needed an official and professional group, and so educational preference was given to a limited class of potential leaders rather than to the whole population.[18] In this regard the British followed the policy of their own country, where the wealthy and higher classes had educational advantages and where the state-supported schools were not provided for the masses until 1870. With regard to the needs of the masses in India, it was somewhat easily assumed that in time education would gradually move downward and outward, permeating the whole population. This hope, however, has not been realized.[19]

RESULTS OF THE MACAULAY PLAN

The policy of providing a foreign education for a limited group led, during the years that followed its inauguration to several undesirable results. The first of these was the building up of a distinct educated class which was separated from the masses, not by the mere difference arising between ignorance and education (this had existed under the ancient Indian system of education), but by the differences between divergent cultures. As a result, many of the educated class were divorced from their homes, their communities, and their racial traditions.[20] The foreign nature of the education given tended to denationalize and despiritualize Indian youth. They were "in India but not of it." "Mimic anglicism," says C. R. Dass, "has become an obsession with us; we find its black footprint in every walk and endeavor of our life. . . . We have become hybrid in dress, in thought, in sentiment and culture and are making frantic attempts even to be hybrids in blood."[21] While this is no longer true the reaction from it (together with the strong national feeling and patriotic fervor due to political developments and to a desire for liberty built up by a study of Western institutions), has resulted in a distrust and hatred of the West which increase tremendously the difficulties of the present situation.

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[16] MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[17] "The idea of Anglicizing over 300,000,000 people scattered in thousands of villages needs only to be stated to reveal its inherent impossibility."—Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, p. 27.

[18] Statistics also show that while there are 133 English Arts colleges with an attendance of 50,000, and 8,149 secondary schools with 1,212,000 pupils, there are only 9⅓ million pupils in all types of institutions. The only conclusion possible from a consideration of these facts is that the structure of Indian education is ill-balanced.—*Moral and Material Progress of India, 1924-25.*

[19] In 1920, rather more than eighty-five years after Macaulay's plan was initiated, only 12.2 males in every 100 could read and write anything, and but 1.8 women in every 100. Conservatism has undoubtedly hindered educational progress, but the system is also to blame.—*Ibid.*

Another undesirable result has been the very great divergence in the preparation of Indians for carrying political and social responsibility. The educated class is ready for larger political opportunity and privilege and naturally they are unwilling to wait patiently until the general educational average of the country has been raised. As the Montagu-Chelmsford Report says, "we have in fact created a limited *intelligentsia*, who desire advance; and we cannot stay their progress entirely until education has been extended to the masses."[22]

Another unfortunate development has been that, because of the almost exclusive emphasis upon a literary education, students have had little preparation for anything except government or clerical service.[23] Education has been little concerned with science, technology, and the actual doing of things. It is true, however, that only of late years has the complaint been heard that the system has failed to train Indians for practical work in manufacturing, commerce, and the application of science to industrial life. The changing economic conditions of the country have brought this lesson home, and in its acceptance lies much of the hope for the future.[24]

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[20] K. M. Panikkar, M. A., *Modern Review*, October, 1923; *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 204.

[21] Quoted by the Earl of Ronaldshay in *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 98.

[22] Quoted in Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 153. See also *Indian Constitutional Reforms: The Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals*, p. 150. [23] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

A result closely associated with the preceding is the striking uniformity of product of the educational system and the lack of much attention to individual differences.[25] Not only have individual abilities and talents been neglected but Indian boys have been treated as if they were English boys. Much more study of the mental make-up and outlook of Indian children is needed, but enough is known at present to leave little doubt that the Eastern temperament and intellectual characteristics are different from those of the West. The Earl of Ronaldshay says, "Differences are so profound that a system of education must be evolved in India to suit the Indian boy and his type of mind."[26] The present education has meant a loss of Indian individuality and the turning out of a uniform product.

The type of education inaugurated by the Macaulay Minute has also strengthened a method which emphasizes memorizing rather than thinking; imitation rather than originality; and routine rather than initiative. Although Indian traditions of learning had been associated with memorizing, the necessity for acquiring information about matters new and strange in a foreign tongue led to a tremendous over-emphasis upon memorizing as a method. Even today, classroom methods and the official examinations lay stress upon memorized knowledge rather than upon reasoning, judgment, and reconstruction of the pupil's experience. For months before the official examination, students persistently cram information in order to get through these tests. Page after page of material is memorized with little or no idea of its significance or its practical use. Pupils leave the school with few valuable techniques of thinking, studying, planning, or carrying out real work, but only with sharpened memories and increased facilities for acquiring undigested facts.[27]

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 150. [25] Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India*, p. 259.

[26] *The Heart of Aryavarta.*

[27] Numerous writers and speakers have condemned this parrot-like memorizing, cramming of information and the harmful concomitants of the practice. Dr. Pramathanath Banerji, in giving evidence before the Calcutta University Commission (1917), said: The employment of English "teaches our boys to attach importance to words rather than thoughts; to forms rather than substance." Mr. Bibhutibhusan Datta, before the same Commission, stated that "the forcing of an alien language only serves to dry up at their

Another serious defect of the educational system is its failure to develop character. The education given has frequently been referred to as a "Godless" one, because Government's pledged neutrality in religious matters prevents direct religious instruction in its schools.[28] While theoretical moral instruction has been given in some Government schools, it has not greatly affected the characters of the pupils, for it has been just as foreign and formal as the rest of the instruction.[29] Yet testimony should be borne to the persistent enthusiasm and devotion which many British educators in India have displayed and to the ways in which they have influenced and inspired Indian students. "The influence which the teachers who labored in the early days exerted upon young Indians keen to acquire knowledge," says MacDonald, "was great and good."[30] But one must doubt if they pursued ways which really led to the goals intended.

A further undesirable result has been the failure to develop a broad, national citizenship. This is a natural result of the study of foreign history, literature, and social institutions which do not relate themselves vitally to Indian conditions. There is now an increasing demand that Indian social and economic problems be analyzed in the classroom and made the basis for school study and that more training be given in social and civic ideals and responsibilities, as well as in self-discipline and student government.[31]

Finally, the educational system which has gradually resulted from the Macaulay Plan is considered by many to be too official, too rigid, and too highly centralized. Personal influence and local responsibility have diminished, while official dominance has increased. Local experimentation and differentiation have been discouraged by a rigidly controlled system centralized in a comparatively small group of people, and the elementary school curriculum and methods of instruction have been largely determined by the demands of the universities and the secondary schools. The whole educational organization has been, in many ways, as foreign to the Indian people as the Western learning it has espoused.

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very sources, the fountain springs of national power and thus impoverishes the nation on the side of initiative and originality."

[28] See Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 98.

[29] Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[30] *The Government of India*, p. 168.

[31] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 205.

General Summary

The contrast between this English education and that of the ancient system is striking. The former ignored Indian culture, while the latter used it almost exclusively. The former emphasized subject matter, particularly of the exact and scientific kind, while the latter emphasized observation, meditation, and thinking especially along religious lines. Both employed memorizing as a method of learning, but in the English system it was divorced from meditation and the influence of the teacher and thus tended to become purely formal and empty. Ancient education, finally, was of the soil but was limited and circumscribed, whereas English education emphasized breadth of knowledge but ignored the necessary foundation of Indian life and thought.

It must be recognized, however, that the system of education inaugurated by Lord Bentinck's Resolution has in some ways been decidedly beneficial. First of all, it has undoubtedly brought India into touch with the outside world and into an understanding of Western institutions and ideals. Out of this has come the desire for autonomy, the love of freedom, and the wish for democratic institutions. As Lala Lajpat Rai says:

> It must be owned that the present awakening . . . owes its birth to foreign education however Godless it may have been. But for this education there might have been no awakening or to be more accurate, the awakening might have been indefinitely delayed.[32]

Western education has also led educated Indians to see the weaknesses of their own social, economic, and religious systems and to bring about reforms which have contributed much to the progress of the people and the country. Such reforms have been both numerous and varied, and the courageous way in which some of them have been undertaken and the steady existence of many Indian social reform and social service organizations, often in spite of the persistent opposition of intrenched interests, hold great promise for the future.

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[32] *The Problems of National Education in India*, p. 38. Although many Indian leaders are dissatisfied with the foreign character of education, a number would probably agree with Lala Lajpat Rai's statement: "The present school system is atrocious and there is no doubt that the ancient system is in certain respects much better. The system actually followed at the time of the introduction of British rule had lost the best features of the more ancient one. We are mighty glad that the system then prevalent was rejected in favor of the Western school system."—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

Another benefit has resulted chiefly by way of reaction. The imposition of a Western education has aroused a curiosity concerning India's own ancient contributions to knowledge, and a conviction has grown that India herself has something of value to contribute to the world's progress and welfare. Along with this conviction has come an ardent desire that India may have full opportunity to make her contribution to the civilization of the nations.

Our conclusion must be that the mistake was not in introducing India to Western knowledge and culture (since both for her own development and in view of the results of the present impact of widely removed sections of the world upon each other, she needed this contact), but rather the fault lay in the way in which it was done. If, in accordance with sound educational principles, all possible use had been made of India's cultural past and of her present experience, and if this had been supplemented by the experience and culture of other races, the results would have been very different. Such a co-ordination of cultures holds much promise, for the cultures of East and West are largely complementary: The East needs the West, and it is no less true that the West needs the East.

The hope of the future is undoubtedly in the direction of such co-ordination, and it is encouraging that both Indian and European leaders are beginning to realize this and to work along these lines.[33] The Earl of Ronaldshay advocates co-ordination in striking and beautiful language. We must, he says, "weave into the tapestry of Indian life such threads from the spindles of the West as will enrich, without bringing about a complete alteration of outline in the pattern upon the Eastern loom."[34]

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[33] The Maharaja of Alwar in an address in March, 1922, vigorously emphasized this point of view; "The internal tradition of India has been to look upon the inner things of life, to be introspective and to fathom the secrets of God and life. Self realization in other words has been the goal of the East. The West, on the other hand, has looked to the outside world, to the conquering of Nature, in order to enable it to help humanity. Each has a definite aim and a great deal to give the other. Slavish imitation is death but assimilation of the best when the roots are firmly imbedded in one's own soil, is life. The materialism of the West cannot survive by itself, any more than the spirituality of the East can be put into practice, without the union of both."—Quoted in Van Tyne, *India in Ferment,* pp. 82-83.

INFERENCES FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

The educational aims and principles deduced from the foregoing analysis of early British education in India may be briefly summarized as follows:[35] (1) The curriculum should utilize as fully as possible the valuable elements of the Indian heritage and culture; (2) it should be related to Indian life and its problems and should result in more satisfying lives for the pupils and in improved environmental conditions; (3) it should bring pupils into a sympathetic knowledge of various occupations and of their contributions to personal and social life; (4) it should be planned to meet the common needs of all and should include, in addition to the intellectual studies, the physical, the social, the civic, the religious, and the moral—in other words the curriculum should be concerned, first of all, with meeting the needs and providing for the development of the children and not primarily with the teaching of subject matter, which must be regarded rather as a means than an end; (5) instruction must be given in the pupil's own language, for reasons made clear above;[36] (6) the curriculum activities should be of such a character and so organized as to require thinking, planning, and constructive effort rather than memorizing, imitation, and deadening routine; (7) the curriculum should be so planned as to cultivate intelligent citizenship and to develop those valuable attitudes, appreciations, and ideals which the pupils lack—and all this by means of functional activities instead of by formal instruction; (8) artistic appreciation should be developed through a study of the Indian's own cultural contribution in the fields of music, art, drama, literature, and religion, remembering always that in the appreciation of higher things, as well as in the development of character, religion is the most vital and powerful influence in Indian life; (9) the curriculum should care for individual capacities and talents, thus avoiding the uniform product of a rigidly organized system.

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[34] *Heart of Aryavarta.*

[35] These aims and principles will be stated in positive form, as correctives to the weaknesses which have become increasingly apparent through succeeding years of educational experience.

[36] See pp. 23, 26.

With reference to elementary education, the following additional inferences may be drawn: (1) elementary education should utilize as fully as possible the best elements of ancient Indian education, especially the close and intimate relationship of teacher and pupil, the emphasis upon observation and thought, the richest educational use of self-activity and self-discipline and the making of character development a central purpose; (2) it should also emphasize social consciousness, social interactions, and social helpfulness, which have been lacking in all Indian education, but especially in the ancient system; (3) it should not be a separate, isolated form of education, but should be vitally co-ordinated with higher education, though not dominated by it.

In conclusion, experience has demonstrated that education should come from below and within Indian life and not from above and without; it should be in harmony with India's traditions and should be so arranged that the people themselves may have an understanding of and a share in the working of the educational system. This, rather than excessive centralization, will make for the extension and growth of progressive education.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH EDUCATION UP TO THE GREAT WAR, 1835-1918

PRIOR TO 1854

BETWEEN 1835 and 1854 there was a growing realization that education imparted only to the higher classes was not likely to filter down to the masses, as had been anticipated. It became clearer that illiteracy and ignorance must be attacked much more vigorously and that the primary schools could not be left without guidance and financial support. In 1839 Lord Aukland returned to the institutions of oriental learning the funds they had lost and supplied additional funds for English education.[1] Other officials also sought, in these years, to make a more substantial foundation for education. Mr. Adam in Bengal and Mr. Thomasson in the United Provinces tried to encourage the indigenous schools and to co-ordinate them with central "anglo-vernacular" schools. "In 1848 Lord Hardinge endeavored to reconcile vernacular and English education by starting one hundred and one schools of a type between the *zilla* (English) schools and those which are indigenous. The attempt seems to have been premature, for after ten years only twenty-six of these schools remained in existence."[2] In the Punjab prior to 1854,

> government schools existed in the districts of the Delhi territory . . . and in the rest of the Province indigenous schools afforded a foundation for the present educational system. Under the Sikh rule, teaching as a profession was almost entirely in the hands of the Muhammedans, who, besides teaching the Koran in the mosques, gave instruction in the Persian classics. On these schools were grafted the earliest Government vernacular schools. . . . After annexation, the Christian Missions established several schools, one at Lahore (the Rang Mahal) as early as 1849. Government soon followed their example and founded schools in the cities and larger towns, while District officers founded and maintained schools at minor places, out of local funds.[3]

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[1] Biss, *op. cit.*, p. 10. [2] *Loc. cit.* [3] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 206.

THE DISPATCH OF 1854

The year 1854 is another landmark in Indian educational history. In that year Sir Charles Wood issued his statesmanlike dispatch based upon a careful study and review of educational conditions, when, for the first time, Parliament investigated seriously and sympathetically the development of Indian education.[4] This dispatch has greatly influenced educational policy and administration ever since, and it would probably have accomplished even more if some of its important recommendations had not been misinterpreted or neglected. One of its outstanding features was the emphasis placed upon primary education. It repudiated the previous theory that education given to the higher classes would permeate the masses. The new policy was "to combat the ignorance of the people, which may be considered the greatest curse of the country." The vital importance of female education was stressed, "by which a far greater proportionate impulse is imparted to education and to the moral tone of the people than by the education of men." A broader tolerance of the vernacular was shown, especially for children of the elementary school grades. Other essential features of the dispatch were the following:

First, it created a Department of Public Instruction in each province, with the object of rapidly increasing the number of schools and bettering the quality of the education given. In the Punjab the Department consisted of a director, two inspectors, ten deputy, and sixty sub-deputy inspectors. "The schools directly supported by Government numbered one hundred and eight (four district, one hundred *tahsil* and four normal schools." Besides these there were quite a number of private schools, mostly missionary. "The cost of the department was about Rs. two lakhs per annum and in addition a tax of 1 per cent of the land revenue provided for the maintenance of numerous village schools."[5]

Secondly, public funds, instead of being used chiefly for the support of a few government schools and colleges emphasizing Western education, were to be distributed so as to encourage private educational enterprise through a system of "grants-in-aid." These annual financial grants were to be made to private schools which reached certain prescribed standards and accepted certain conditions.[6] Private organizations establishing schools would thus share their financial burdens with Government.[7]

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[4] *Sadler Commission Report,* I, 39.

[5] *Land of the Five Rivers,* p. 206.

A third feature of the dispatch was the outlining of a university system which was to be of the affiliating type. It was hoped that these universities would strengthen the colleges and schools, arouse greater interest in education, and assist Government to select graduates impartially for its service.[8]

This Dispatch of 1854 has been called a great forward step in Indian education. Lord Dalhousie, to whom it was addressed, said of it: "It is a scheme of education for all India far wider and more comprehensive than the local or supreme Governments could have ventured to suggest." Chirol, in *India, Old and New*, characterized it as follows: "The dispatch mapped out a really national system of education worthy of the faith which the British generation of that day had in the establishment of an intellectual and spiritual communion between India and the West."[9]

For some years, however, the progress in village education was disappointing. In the Punjab difficulties arose in administration. At first all the schools were under the direct control of the Department, with lower grade inspection provided by officials secured from Hindustan. These men were not popular, and District officers had little to do with the schools. In 1860 the unpopular inspecting agency was discontinued, and deputy commissioners and *tahsildars* were made responsible for the schools. As this arrangement proved to be weak on the professional side, an inspector was appointed in each district as the deputy commissioner's executive agent and adviser.

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[6] These were made on the basis of the attendance, character of staff, and the standard of instruction as judged by inspecting officers.

[7] "The subsequent history of the movement showed that it speedily attained a momentum of its own which the authorities were powerless to control." The schools tended to become overwhelmingly literary, which was not the purpose of the original Minute.—*Indian Year Book, 1923*, p. 452.

[8] "On the other hand, the new Universities were not corporations of scholars but corporations of administrators; they did not deal directly with the training of men but with the examination of candidates; they were not concerned with learning except in so far as learning can be tested by examinations. The colleges were fettered by examination requirements and by uniform courses; their teachers were denied that freedom which teachers should enjoy; and their students were encouraged, not to value training for its own sake but as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. It was not the original purpose to deprive the Universities of teaching functions or to make University examinations the sole test qualifying for public service."—*Loc. cit.*

[9] P. 82.

The primary course of study at this time was also unsatisfactory, including little beyond the attempt to secure the tools of literacy.

The Persian script already in use throughout the western Punjab and in two-thirds of the indigenous schools of the eastern districts was unhesitatingly adopted as the standard, but the choice of language offered greater difficulties. Punjabi is not a literary language and Urdu, though unpopular, was so generally in use (especially in the law courts), that it was perforce adopted.[10]

Gurmukhi and Hindi schools were, however, to be encouraged wherever the people desired them.

In 1860 school fees were first charged, and from 1868 to 1870, the status of the village schoolmaster was improved. The minimum salary was fixed at Rs. 10 a month, but funds ran short, and a number of schools were closed. Further funds for education were later secured, however, and the village schools rose rapidly in numbers and efficiency. But while the schools improved in these ways, nothing was done to alter the curriculum so as to bring it into accord with the people's interests and needs.

THE DISPATCH OF 1882

The next important date in Indian education is 1882, when Lord Ripon appointed a commission to study the whole educational system, especially the working of the recommendations of the Dispatch of 1854. This commission attached great importance to primary education and advocated, first, the recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools (so far as these could be made to serve any purpose of secular education), and second, increased efforts to extend the primary schools. In this connection, the commission made proposals to bring about a larger expenditure on primary education by transferring the management of these schools to local bodies who should be required to devote a fixed proportion of their income to primary education. Revised grant-in-aid rules provided for "payment by results" (i.e. the satisfactory completion of specified subject matter being rewarded by definite money grants); they also provided for staff grants to certified teachers employed in aided schools. Female education was to be especially encouraged.

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[10] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 206.

Concerning secondary education, it was recommended that instruction be made less literary and stereotyped and more practical, and that secondary schools and colleges be gradually transferred from Government to private control. The grant-in-aid system was extended, scholarships were made available, and private schools were advised to charge less than government fees. As for government secondary schools, it was suggested that, so far as possible, only a single model or demonstration school be maintained in each district.

These recommendations have been criticized by many, and some of the results were certainly unfortunate. In the course of time an unworkable system of dual control grew up, "whereby the Universities with no funds at their disposal exercised considerable control over the schools, through fixing [higher] courses of study and granting final certificates; while the Departments of Public Instruction possessed the other educational powers.[11] Also, the lower fees and financial encouragements led to the "mushroom growth" of small institutions, with incompetent and poorly paid teachers, unsanitary buildings, and inadequate classrooms. The growth of primary education, as compared with the expansion of secondary schools, lagged far behind.[12] The morale of the educational service was lowered by the

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[11] *Indian Year Book, 1923*, p. 452.

[12] "In the primary school, which must constitute the very foundation of any sound educational structure, barely 3 per cent of the population is enrolled. On the other hand, we may notice that in secondary schools the relatively remarkable proportion of 0.5 per cent of the total population is under instruction. When allowance is made for the fact that females can be virtually left out of reckoning, this is a proportion (for secondary schools) far greater than the corresponding figures for England and Wales."—Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1922-23*, p. 233.

The Census Report of the Punjab for 1921 states that out of a total population of 25,101,060 persons (including native states), 967,943 persons (882,537 males and 85,406 females) are returned as literate. The test for literacy is the ability to read and write a letter in any one language. Of the total population above the age of five years, the number of literate persons in the Punjab was 45 per thousand, or 4½ per cent. Of males there were division of the government teaching forces into European and Indian, with discrimination against the latter.

In the Punjab the attempt to improve the indigenous schools to any considerable degree failed, and it was found necessary to convert many of them into Government or District Board Schools or to put them under mission or private management. Because of the scarcity of funds and of competent teachers it was decided to cut down the number of schools in the hope of improving the quality of the remainder. Thus school facilities were so reduced that they could accommodate only a small fraction of the boys of school-going age.

On the side of curriculum revision, in 1886 an attempt was made to formulate a more practical course of study for the sons of agriculturists, and this led to the establishment of *zamindari* schools, in which reading and writing in the language chosen by the people and arithmetic by native methods were taught. These schools required only half-time attendance and were closed during the harvest. For a time they were successful, but when the people realized that they did not lead to government employment, they lost interest in them.[13] In 1901 there were only 187 of them with 4,000 pupils. Again in 1904, an effort was made to open village schools with a simple course of study planned for the needs of agriculturists, and it was hoped that these would prove more satisfactory to the people than the *zamindari* schools had been.

During this period, while primary schools showed small advance numerically, their progress in efficiency was marked. The lower primary examination (after three grades) was abolished, and thus five years of continuous instruction was made possible. In the fourth and fifth grades more time was given to object lessons and to elementary science, but in the first three grades skill in the three R's continued to be the main objective.

The Resolution of 1904

From 1899 to 1903, the Government of India, through selected men and conferences of officials, made a study of the

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74 literate out of a thousand, or 7.4 per cent, and only 9 per thousand females, or .9 per cent.

[13] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 222.

educational situation in India. This resulted in Lord Curzon's Resolution of 1904. This Resolution has been vigorously condemned for the following reasons: it put checks upon the rapid development of high schools and colleges; it raised the fees; it increased Government control; and it raised standards and made examinations more exacting. On the other hand, in this Resolution, for the first time, the Government of India declared the rapid spread of primary education to be one of the foremost duties of the state.[14]

As a result of this, in 1905 the imperial grant was increased Rs. thirty-five lakhs annually, with the idea that this additional sum should be used entirely to promote primary education. This was not done, however, and a large part of the grant was diverted to other educational uses. Notwithstanding this, the progress of primary education was steady, though slow. The number of schools for the whole of India increased from 92,226 in 1902 to 102,947 in 1907, while the average number of pupils per school increased from 33 in the former case to 36 in the latter. As to management, 76 per cent of the schools were under private control and only 24 per cent under public direction, so that even in primary education private bodies still had a commanding influence.

Another recommendation of the Resolution of 1904 was the gradual giving up of the principle of "payment by results," since it had been found that this served to overemphasize the formal side of education and to put a premium upon memorizing. There was also the difficulty of keeping adequate records, of preventing frauds, and of avoiding the emphasis upon income rather than upon the development of the pupils.

As to the progress made, even in 1907 there existed an average of only one primary school to every 10.9 square miles of the country. Each such school received Rs. 43. 3 from public funds

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[14] "The Government of India fully accepts the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, 'Among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people.' . . . In so far as District or Municipal Boards are required to devote their funds to education, primary education should have a predominant claim upon their expenditure."

(Rs. 1.5 per year per boy) and the average annual expenditure was Rs. 133 (Rs. 3.9 per pupil).

MR. GOKHALE'S RESOLUTIONS

In 1910 Mr. G. K. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in British India.[15] Compulsion was to apply only to boys between the ages of six and ten years and only in those areas where 33 per cent of the male population of school-going age were already in school. The cost of such education was to be divided between Government and local bodies in the proportion of 2 to 1. The bill also proposed that a separate Department of Education in the Government of India be created in charge of a member of the Executive Council; that Government should have a comprehensive program for education; and that it should take some responsibility for the spread of education instead of throwing the whole of it on provincial heads.

After a thorough debate, the resolution was withdrawn, Government promising that the whole question should be carefully examined. In 1910 the proposed Central Department of Education was created to devise schemes for the much greater extension of primary education.

In 1911 Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill similar to the previous one but providing for certain checks which it was hoped would make it more acceptable. The opinions of local governments, universities, and public bodies were invited, and the whole matter was referred to a select committee of the Council.[16] But Mr. Gokhale's bill was again defeated, the outstanding objections being: the lack of a popular demand for education and the lack of support by the local government; the difficulty in raising adequate funds; and the difficulty in enforcing the attendance laws.

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[15] J. M. Sen, *Primary Education Acts in India,* p. 10.

[16] In commenting upon the need of compulsory education, Mr. Gokhale said: "The Government of India are committed to a policy of mass education and the rate at which we have been going for the last sixty years is hopelessly slow. Even at the accelerated pace of the last ten years, it will take enormously long periods for every child to be at school. Moreover, this does not take into account the natural and necessary increase of population in the country. What then is to be done? . . . India must profit by the example and by the experience of other civilized countries. And other civilized countries have come to only one conclusion in this matter and that is that the State must *resort to compulsion in order to secure universal education for the people."*—Ibid., pp. 15-16.

THE POLICY OF 1913

In 1912, the cause of primary education was greatly furthered by the King-Emperor's pronouncement in January of that year, when an additional financial grant was made for primary education. His Majesty, in replying to the address of Calcutta University on January 6, 1912, said:

> It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal, manly, useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations of life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labor sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train; a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.

This pronouncement helped to bring about a revision of the educational policy of 1904, and the new policy was announced in the Resolution of February 21, 1913.[17] In regard to primary education it advocated a large expansion of primary schools teaching the three R's, with the addition of drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study, and physical exercises. It maintained the position that it was not practicable at present to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools, but it suggested that in rural schools there was special scope for the practical teaching of geography, for school excursions, nature study, and simple knowledge of the locality.

The new policy further advised that expansion should be secured by means of District Board Schools. Where finances do not permit this, aided schools under recognized management should be encouraged. Better buildings and equipment, more and better-trained teachers and their adequate after-care, and a better co-ordination with Middle Schools were also emphasized.

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[17] *Resolution on Indian Educational Policy, 1913,* p. 9.

Plate III—Interesting, Attractive Racial Types

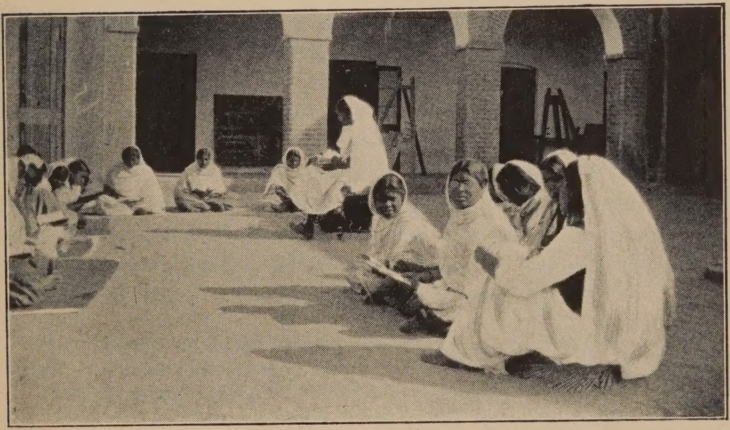

Plate IV—A Class in a Girls' School

In the discussion on the Indian budget, the Under-Secretary of State for India stated with regard to the educational policy of the Government:

> The programme which we hope to work up to in time is as follows:—We desire to increase the total number of primary schools by 90,000 (or 75 per cent) and to double the school-going population (making it about 10 per cent). . . . We are going to improve the existing schools, which now only cost about £10 each year so that the cost of these will probably be doubled.[18]

In the Punjab by 1918 many of the privately managed primary schools had been converted into Board schools. The number of primary schools had risen to 5,084 for boys and 954 for girls (70 per cent being Board schools). The pupils attending these numbered 243,345 boys (3.4 per cent of the male population) and 42,234 girls (0.62 per cent of the female population). The expenditure on these schools amounted to Rs. 17,001,552 (£1,133,437 approximately) for boys and Rs. 404,801 (£26,987) for girls. However, the percentage of all pupils at school was only 2.4 per cent of the total population, as compared with 19.9 per cent in the United States, 16.5 per cent in England and Wales, 13 per cent in Japan, and 9 per cent in Ceylon.[19]

It may be said, then, that in general the period is marked by legislative and administrative efforts to extend primary education, but that little was accomplished toward improving the primary school curriculum, nor was any careful study made to determine what should be taught. The prevailing curriculum emphasized little more than the tools of literacy, although at times a few other subjects were added.[20]

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[18] *Official Report of Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons,* Vol. XII, p. 1896. [19] *Punjab Quinquennial Report of Education,* 1917-22, pp. 3-5, 25.

[20] "Primary education, which has so far been dragged behind the chariot of secondary and higher education is not merely defective in quantity, but is also unsatisfactory in quality. Investigations show that the majority of children attending primary school are under instruction for between 3 and 4 years; and for the majority of that time, four out of every five linger in the lowest class. The natural result is a tendency to relapse once more into illiteracy, after the painfully short period of instruction comes to an end."—Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1922-23,* pp. 234, 244, and *India in 1921-22,* p. 283. Further material on this point is contained in "Punjab Education," *Civil and Military Gazette,* March 14, 1918, and in

Inferences for Curriculum-Making

While in some cases the statements that follow involve repetition of aims inferred from previous educational experience, this repetition is itself of value for curriculum guidance, since by cumulative evidence certain aims and principles are shown to be of outstanding importance.

The following are the chief deductions made from the educational experience of the years from 1839 to 1918: (1) Emphasis must be placed upon raising the general education average of the people; (2) indigenous schools and indigenous methods should be encouraged; (3) education for girls must be provided; (4) primary education should have definite aims of its own and should not be considered merely as a necessary means to a higher education. Accordingly, a thorough study of what should be taught in the primary schools is of vital importance; (5) because of the large number of one-teacher rural schools and because of the teacher's lack of training, the educational task of the teacher, as regards both organization and curriculum, should be made as simple as possible; (6) while the curriculum should be simplified, it should be done, not by restricting it to a few formal subjects, but by making it more nearly synonymous with life; (7) the choice of the vernacular language and script used in primary schools should be left to the option of the local community, but such choice should not prejudice the higher education and further growth of the pupils; (8) special attention should be given to securing better trained and better paid teachers with rural interests, and to this the further training of such teachers by "refresher" courses and constructive supervision should be stressed; (9) though the ultimate aims of both rural and urban schools should be much the same, the methods of approach should depend upon environmental experience and should therefore be different; (10) for the present, village schools may need to adjust their hours and their sessions to fit in with the farmer's needs, but teachers should use their influence to keep the manual labor of pupils within proper bounds and to make it as educative as possible; (11) while the discontinuance

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Report on Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1921-22, p. 76.

of both the primary examination and the "payment by results" plan was helpful in eliminating excessive memorizing and cramming, much more should be done toward such elimination; (12) the extension of the primary course to five years (from three years) offers increased opportunity to provide an education sufficiently prolonged to influence the pupils permanently, but six years would be better. (Neither a five-year nor a six-year course is possible, however, in one-teacher schools and with the present poorly trained teachers); (13) while the increasing recognition by the State of its responsibility in primary education is a hopeful sign, care should be taken that local interest and effort are enlisted and that both teachers and pupils are allowed a reasonable freedom and initiative in developing courses of study; (14) there should be a careful preparation of a provincial program of primary education, with adequate annual goals in every department, looking toward universal elementary education. There should also be such allocation of funds as will provide for the equalization of educational opportunity throughout the Province. Besides giving responsibility to the District Boards for such education, the village panchayats or special educational committees should be trained to carry responsibility for educating and developing their communities.

CHAPTER IV

BRITISH-INDIAN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION SINCE 1918

The Five-Year Program, 1918-1923

Toward the end of the Great War there was a decided tendency in England and in other countries to examine carefully the whole system of public education in order to determine how well it was meeting the people's needs and providing for their progress. This tendency was felt also in India, where the announcement of Britain's intention of introducing progressively responsible government made many realize that a far more rapid extension of primary education was necessary if the people were to be prepared for intelligent citizenship under the new conditions.

> The Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) has on more than one occasion in the past few years given expression to a definite opinion that the most pressing educational need of the Province at this stage is the removal of illiteracy from among the masses. This need has influenced its policy in the matter of the expansion and improvement of primary education; and the determination of means and methods by which this great end may be more rapidly achieved has been engaging its constant and most earnest attention. The matter is of urgent and vital importance from many aspects and especially at the present juncture when the decision has been made to reach self government by successive stages. A persistent continuance of illiteracy among the masses is obviously antagonistic to political as well as to other advancement.[1]

The first efforts toward such an extension of primary education in the Punjab were the inaugurating in 1918 of the five-year program for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education in rural areas, and the legislation in March, 1919, for compulsory primary education. The year 1918-19 was thus an epoch-making one in Punjab educational history.

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[1] *Proceedings of the Punjab Government* (*Ministry of Education*), No. 1199, O.S., Sept. 28, 1923.

The campaign for the five-year program, which was started in 1918 by Mr. J. S. Richey, has been one of the most thorough efforts to combat illiteracy in India. The whole program was carefully and comprehensively planned and was the first attempt made on a scientific basis to remove illiteracy, to equalize the balance between rich and poor and between progressive and backward areas. Upon Sir George Anderson, who became Director of Public Instruction in 1920, has devolved much of the responsibility for perfecting the organization and for carrying the campaign through successfully. Sir George, though handicapped by the non-co-operation activities against government education as well as by the necessity for rigid economy in his department, has conducted the campaign with such ability and energy as to command the admiration of all.[2]

The primary object of the new program was to provide an adequate number and distribution of primary schools in the province, and to increase the attendance in all schools. To this end, maps were prepared for each district with lists of villages, the population of each, and the location of existing schools. Proposed new schools were located on the map on the basis of an expected enrollment of at least fifty pupils, provided that a distance of two miles intervened between any two schools. It was found that to achieve this object, there would need to be an increase of 298 middle schools and 4,060 primary schools, making, with those schools already in existence, a grand total of 9,144 schools for the entire province.[3] The additional number of District Board schools was to be provided by the creation of new Board schools and by the conversion of private institutions into Board schools. It was expected that the campaign to bring all these schools into successful operation would take at least fifteen years, but definite attainable goals were set up for a five-year period.

A second important object of the program was an improved and more equitable method of government financial assistance. The original system had been to "apportion grants to expenditures on salaries; in other words, to subsidize those Boards which were both willing and able to spend money on education. The backward areas thus became more backward." The five-year program provided a much more equitable plan. Each district was graded according to its ability to pay for its education. If a district was poor, Government paid a proportionately higher share of the cost of expansion and improvement than it did to a wealthier one.[4] The scheme was elastic, for if, in a lean year, Government could not afford to pay out large grants, a halt could be called for that year and the program extended by a year. It was hoped that this plan would encourage local bodies to spend more money on educational advance and that it would also tend to equalize educational opportunity.

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[2] Rushbrook Willams, *India in 1923-24*, pp. 228-29.

[3] *Report on Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quenquennium ending 1921-22*, p. 84.

A third important object of the five-year program was to provide suitable school buildings, and there has already been a decided increase in Government's building grants to vernacular schools. Suitable buildings for these schools had been a crying need for years, most rural schools being miserably housed. Little was done to improve this condition until 1918, but since that date Government has contributed 21½ lakhs of rupees in building grants. This, with the contributions of local bodies and of the people themselves, has brought about the construction of 748 new school buildings (133 middle and 615 primary), and the enlarging of 332 other buildings. Notwithstanding this progress, it is estimated that nearly half of the primary schools in the province are still without buildings of their own. It is recognized, however, that suitable buildings for these schools must be provided as soon as possible, for "there can be no permanency in a school which has no permanent abode."[5]

A program contemplating so large an increase in the number of primary schools necessitated also increased provision for the training of teachers, especially since, in 1919, only 4,763 out of a total of 7,529 teachers in primary schools of all kinds were found to be trained and certificated.[6] This increased demand for trained teachers was to be met by an increase in the number of normal schools, by such reorganization of the existing normal schools as would provide accommodation for many more students at only a slight increase in expenditure, and by the adding of teacher-training classes to selected high schools. The sensible policy of locating normal schools for rural teachers in small towns and selecting students largely from the villages was adopted. A revised normal school curriculum was developed, which gave greater attention to meeting the problems of the rural schools, provided better practice teaching, offered improved methods of teaching the school subjects, and emphasized nature study and gardening, drawing, hygiene, and physical education. Increased facilities were also provided to train senior vernacular teachers for both lower and upper middle schools; at the Lyallpur Agricultural College, selected teachers had the opportunity to secure a training in agriculture which fitted them to be teachers of agriculture and gardening in vocational middle schools. Since 1920, an average of nearly 1,400 junior and 320 senior vernacular teachers per year have been trained, so that the percentage of trained teachers in Board schools at present is not lower than 60 per cent in any division, while in three divisions it is over 70 per cent. Thrift societies formed among village teachers have also improved the personnel of the teaching force by contributing to its stability and contentment.

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[4] Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1923-24*, pp. 68-72.

[5] *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1919-20*, p. 28.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The five-year program discontinued the lower primary school (of three classes) and the upper primary school (of five classes) on the basis that the former did not offer sufficient scope for securing a command of literacy and the latter was too much for a single teacher to handle effectively. In place of these schools, the four-class primary school was organized as the ordinary village school, while the six-class school (lower middle) and the eight-class school (upper middle) were organized for larger villages or for groups of small villages.

A striking development resulting from the five-year program has been the introduction of gardening and agriculture into the curriculum of lower and upper middle rural schools. The teaching of these subjects is largely practical. Gardens equipped with the necessary stock and implements are attached to each school, and the pupils do most of the necessary work, devoting about an hour a day to it, except during certain seasons when more time must be given. Teachers who have had both agricultural and pedagogical training are in charge of the work. The success of these schools and their rapid increase are undoubtedly due to the fact that they have helped to relate instruction to rural needs and thus have furnished not only a good general education but one which has been colored and enriched by practical work close to the lives of the pupils. They have also exerted some influence upon surrounding farmers by calling to their attention improved implements and seeds. These rural schools have commanded the attention of educationists in other provinces, and many feel that they offer possibilities for solving a problem which has baffled rural educational leaders for many years.

The new program also called for a revised inspecting staff. A special inspector of vernacular education and another special inspector for teacher-training institutions were appointed. The general inspecting staff was also reorganized so as to free the divisional inspector from some of his routine duties and give him time for matters of policy and expansion. The methods of inspection were to be constructive and progressive and not merely critical and formal.

As the campaign developed, other features were added to the program. One of these was the special effort made to overcome the stagnation in the first grade. Even in 1923, more than half (57 per cent) of the pupils at the primary stage of instruction were enrolled in the first class.[7] Among the remedies proposed for this state of affairs were the consolidation of small inefficient schools, better-trained teachers, the elimination of one-teacher schools, the providing of a better education by bringing it more into accord with rural needs, a tactful use of the compulsory principle, and improved supervision.[8] Since these remedies are all discussed in other connections, it is sufficient merely to mention them here.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM

The rapidly expanding educational program described above has demanded the most careful study of all phases of the

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[7] *Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education)*, No. 1199, O.S., Sept. 28, 1923.

[8] "It is estimated that more than three-fourths of the primary schools in the province have now two teachers or more." *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1923-24*, p. 46.

Department's activities, so that the largest results might be secured for the money expended. In this, the Department has been remarkably successful, and the economical use of funds has permitted much greater progress and expansion than was anticipated. Sir John Maynard, Finance Member, stated before the Legislative Council in March, 1923, "I desire to pay a special tribute to the Department of Education, which stands easily first in its strenuous pursuit of that cardinal principle of good administration: to make the best use of every rupee and to waste nothing." The economies practised have affected practically every department of education, and most of the savings have gone to advance the interests of vernacular instruction.

Concerning results of the five-year program, the following figures are significant: In 1923, at the end of the five-year period, the number of recognized primary schools for boys was 5,738 and for girls 1,046. This is an increase of 654 boys' schools and 92 girls' schools, or 12.8 per cent increase in the former case, and 9.7 per cent increase in the latter. As to the pupils, in 1923 there were 350,434 boys (6.04 per cent of the male population) and 50,974 girls in recognized primary schools. This is an increase of 107,089 boys (44 per cent) and 8,730 girls (21 per cent)—a truly remarkable result which shows the largest advance in numbers among all the Indian provinces. Besides these recognized schools, there were 2,573 unrecognized institutions for boys, with an attendance of 57,631, and 1,523 schools for girls with an attendance of 26,576. The increase of pupils in all institutions in 1921-22 was 69,701, and in 1922-23 the number rose to over 150,000. The largest increase in any province heretofore was 80,921 in the United Provinces in 1919-20, but as the population of that province is more than double that of the Punjab, the achievement of the latter is even more pronounced. Still more striking is the progress shown in the percentage of pupils at school, relative to the whole population. This percentage advanced from 2.4 per cent in 1918 to 3.75 per cent in 1923. For boys alone the figures show an advance from 3.7 per cent to 6.04 per cent.[9]

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[9] *Ibid.*

The Director in a letter of December 7, 1925, writes as follows regarding plans for the further extension of education:

> During the last four years, we have increased our enrollment by nearly 400,000; numbers having increased from about 540,000 in all institutions) four years ago to about 920,000 in March last [1925]. I calculate that in the case of boys, we shall have to increase by another 400,000 in order to bring the number of boys of school-going age at school to 80 per cent. If we can reach that number, then I think we shall have good cause for satisfaction. So far as I can judge, I think we shall increase our enrollment by about 100,000 this year. If, therefore, we can maintain that rate of progress, then I feel that we shall have attained our object in about three year's time.

Adult Education

Another significant phase of educational progress in the past few years is the interest in adult education. Efforts toward the removal of adult illiteracy were first started in a spirit of social service, but results were so gratifying that a definite program was outlined in which teachers, inspectors, and co-operative credit societies worked together. This program contained suggestions regarding staff, curriculum, methods of teaching, and finance. Instruction was given in subjects vital to the dwellers in rural areas, such as hygiene, agriculture, co-operative credit, and the subject-matter skills needed in everyday life. Visual instruction was stressed throughout. In some places a committee of the local co-operative credit society manages the school and helps to provide funds. Such co-operation gives promise of even greater results in the future. The growth of these schools for adults has been phenomenal. In the few years that the movement has been in progress, the number of schools has risen to 1,528, and the adults studying in them now number 40,883. Furthermore, this movement has served not only to reduce illiteracy among adults but also to maintain literacy among those who had previously studied in school. It has resulted, too, in increasing the interest and attendance in day schools for boys and girls and has helped in making the village school a rallying point for the development of village life. Through the same agency, village libraries are being established in various places for use in the schools, for the further development of the village people, and for the prevention of their relapse into illiteracy.

EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

Government has also recently laid considerable stress upon the education of the depressed classes. It has already done much to influence public opinion on their behalf and has secured the provision of better educational opportunities for them. In a resolution of June, 1923, the official policy was stated thus:

> Not only do the claims of justice and humanity plead on behalf of these people but it is also essential to the best interests of the province as a whole that no community, however low in the social scale, should be denied the benefits of education. Equality of opportunity for all should be the watchword of a properly devised educational scheme.[10]

Government has further stated that it cannot give communities grants for the introduction of compulsory education unless these grants are used for the benefit of all classes of people. It leaves the local community to decide whether the education of these people should be in separate schools or in the regular ones, but suggests that the latter is the more economical procedure.[11] The request of the depressed classes for more educational opportunity is becoming more and more insistent, and the popular prejudice against these people is slowly but steadily breaking down. In some places they are even admitted to the regular schools without serious objection. Mr. Gandhi's campaign against untouchability[12] will undoubtedly do much to remove prejudice against the depressed classes and to provide them with larger opportunities. Evidence is already available to prove that education is an important factor in their uplift. Indeed, some of those who have had educational opportunity have already made real contributions to their community and their country.

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[10] C. M., No. 210, G.S., June, 1923.

[11] Conference of Inspecting Officers, Lahore, April, 1922.

[12] The untouchables are the "unclean" aborigines and progeny of mixed marriages who are shut out from the Hindu community, as being too unclean for social and religious intercourse.

THE PUNJAB COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT

Another factor of tremendous influence in the advancement of primary education in the Punjab was the passing of the Compulsory Education Act in March, 1919. This act authorizes compulsory primary education for boys between the ages of six and eleven years, but leaves the initiative for introducing the Act to the local authorities. The education is to be free, and if private schools are utilized in a village where a public school is not available and fees need to be given, these must be paid by the local body, which is given the power to impose an additional tax for primary education, subject to the authority of Government. The school buildings, equipment, and staff must be such as the Educational Department deems suitable. The local authority is to appoint a school attendance committee to enforce compulsion and is required to submit a statement to the Provincial Government showing the school accommodations, equipment, and educational staff required for introducing compulsory education, together with the proportion of the expenditures it is prepared to supply. Government may also by modification exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of the Act.

At first, both municipalities and local bodies were very slow in utilizing the powers conferred upon them. The educational authorities did not impose compulsion upon the unwilling, but it did advocate the operation of the Act in small suitable areas where the supply of schools was adequate but the attendance was poor. It also encouraged local bodies to proceed and asked them to state reasons for lack of action. Gradually the movement gained momentum, so that in March, 1924, there were fourteen municipalities and 156 rural school areas where compulsory education was in force. The latter areas are under thirteen district boards, so that practically half the district authorities of the province have taken initial steps in the introduction of compulsory education. In fact, the Jullander division is the only one in which no local body has taken action, and "there is reason to believe that the Punjab now occupies the foremost position among the provinces in this matter." This is hopeful, for compulsion is undoubtedly the surest and most economical method for advancing literacy.

THE REFORMS SCHEME

At the beginning of 1921 the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms transferred education to Indian control. These reforms influenced elementary education by bringing it under the jurisdiction of an Indian Minister for Education, who is responsible to the Legislative Council. The Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab is also Under-Secretary and so deals directly with the Minister. This means considerable financial saving and also an intimate and harmonious contact between the Minister and the Director, which is essential to the proper working of the Reforms. Finance is controlled by the Legislative Council, which votes for education such grants as it thinks it can afford.

While there has been some confusion of controlling authorities and policy because of the fact that certain forms of education are under other Governmental control, the most direct and immediate effect of the Reforms scheme has been the strengthening of the contact between the Department and public opinion. This has been due to the feeling of responsibility of the Educational Department to the Minister and to the Legislative Council, and also due to the formation of an Education Committee of the Council, which offers opportunities for informal discussions on the needs and defects of the existing system.

It is obvious that the great impetus given to primary education in these recent years and the improved organization that has now been developed, make this a peculiarly fitting time to study curriculum needs with great care and to formulate a curriculum which will vitally influence the development of the people and their communities. Up to the present, the main proposal put forward for the alteration of the primary curriculum is to confine it to the three R's, with a reading course made up of general knowledge of practical value in rural communities. The aim of education for these schools has thus progressed little beyond that of attaining mere literacy or of using the primary schools as feeders for higher schools. If, at this time, a functional curriculum can be developed, which will really benefit and develop village life, the primary school movement will continue to gain in strength and vitality and parents will feel that it is clearly worth while to send their children to school. If, on the other hand, what is taught in the school does not prove beneficial in the daily life of the people, the progress and even the stability of the whole vernacular school movement may be imperiled. Indeed, it may be said that the one lesson which stands out above all others in India's educational history is this: Education will bring out the fullest growth and development of the pupils and will vitally affect their environment for good *only* when it grows out of and is developed in relation to their nature, their purposes, their experiences (individual and racial) and their life needs—in other words, when it is intrinsic in the life of the child.

INFERENCES FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

The important curriculum principles which may be inferred from the experience of Indian education since 1918 are the following: (1) The same methods of systematic, scientific study that have proved successful in other aspects of education should now be employed in curriculum study and construction; (2) the curriculum should provide, as far as possible, for the equalization of opportunity. This means that the education of girls must receive more emphasis than heretofore, that rural schools shall have as large educational opportunities as urban schools, that the children of depressed classes shall be especially encouraged, and that the children living in backward areas shall receive as rich an education as those of more prosperous regions; (3) the curriculum must take into account the actual conditions existing in the village schools. These will include the number and character of the pupils, the type of teacher available and the extent of his task, the environmental experiences of the pupils, the character of the equipment available, the type of building in use, the organization of the school, and the public expectation of what a school should accomplish; (4) the success of the lower middle vocational schools would seem to indicate the desire on the part of the people for a good general education enriched by practical work, and therefore gardening, agriculture, and other practical village activities should find a place in the curriculum—not so much, however, for their vocational as for their educational value; (5) the success of the adult education movement would seem to indicate that its emphasis upon hygiene, agriculture, co-operative credit, and the subject-matter skills needed in daily life is also needed in the regular rural school curriculum. The concomitants of the adult education movement, such as village libraries and follow-up education and guidance, are also valuable aids in making the work of the schools effective; (6) the prevalent stagnation in the first grade can be eliminated mainly by a curriculum which will follow the valuable interests and secure the whole-hearted efforts of the pupils. Other aids are consolidation, whereby an increased number of pupils in the grade will give opportunity for social interaction, and improved teaching, which may best be secured through teacher-training and constructive supervision; (7) the subjects now emphasized in the Government Normal course of study for village teachers indicate types of experiences and activities which should receive more consideration in the village primary schools. Such subjects are hygiene, nature study, gardening, practical geography and school excursions, drawing, handwork, and physical education; (8) the play-for-all movement and the village scout movement offer forms of recreation and physical and mental training which are needed by all village pupils; (9) the village school should be made a center of effort for the whole community. On the one hand, it should keep in touch with the homes and the community, and on the other, it should furnish a social center stimulating and guiding the people of the village; (10) the bringing of the public (through their educational representatives) into closer contact with educational policy, which was an outcome of the Reforms, should be furthered, and the educational responsibilities of the people should be increased, for in this way opportunity is afforded to secure the general public's opinion of the present educational system and to learn, through discussion, what they desire in educational policy and procedure.

PART II

PRESENT-DAY EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES WITH REFERENCE TO CURRICULUM-MAKING

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENT OFFICIAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM OF THE PUNJAB

The foregoing analysis of the development of education in India has prepared the way for a more intensive study of the curriculum which has evolved and which is now in use. A careful consideration of this course of study is necessary in order to determine its strong and weak points, for it is with reference to this course that modifications and departures will need to be made leading to a more functional curriculum.

Reference has already been made to the fact that while there has been much improvement in equipment, organization, and teacher-training, little has been attempted in the way of constructing a truly indigenous, socially adjusted curriculum. Efforts have been made to transplant courses of study that have been successful in other environments and to add new courses for which there seemed to be a demand, but there has been throughout a decided lack of creative and constructive effort in developing a curriculum which would truly meet the needs of Indian life.

The Rev. William Paton, former secretary of the National Christian Council (India), expresses this opinion effectively. He says,

> Have we any system of education which is worth making universal in the villages of India supposing the men and women, the money and buildings were all there? Is there anything in the existing educational system which should make us enthusiastic for its extension on a huge scale? These are the prior questions and they must be faced before the discussion of a generally extended education can be profitably begun. Is anyone satisfied with the existing state of things? The present village school does not appeal to the children; it does not appeal to the parents; it does not satisfy either the government or the private agencies (such as national organizations and Christian missions) which control it. What are the reasons for this? In the first place, it is because the education given is not in terms of the life and environment of the pupils. It is mainly the old "three R's." Children are not helped to see the relation between what they learn

and the life they lead, still less does the study arise naturally and inevitably out of their life and interests. Consequently they forget all they have learned. There is no more tragic commentary on the existing educational machine than the single fact that a large proportion of those who have been in elementary schools in the villages, lapse back after five years into complete illiteracy.[1]

Recently there has been much outspoken criticism against the existing curriculum and an increasing expression of faith in what education might accomplish for the country, if only it were adapted to Indian conditions. Indian leaders speak strongly of the need of education to prepare for citizenship, and an official reviewer of events in India stresses the need of an indigenous system of education if India is to become a strong nation.[2]

Still more hopeful has been the starting of numerous experimental schools in various parts of India, in which efforts have been directed toward developing a more functional curriculum. This and the succeeding chapter will be devoted to a study of these developments, especially from the curriculum standpoint. The present Government course of study, together with recent efforts made to improve it, will first be examined, with a view to evaluating its aims, content, methods, and results. This curriculum is the result of years of experience and development. The curriculum in use at the beginning of the Five-Year Campaign will first be discussed and then the proposals made for its improvement, which, while not yet in operation, are to be instituted as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

This course of study is a formal, traditional series of subjects, adopted for the entire province by a centralized authority and printed in the official code. These subjects are expected to discipline the pupil's mind and provide the type of drill that pupils can work on apart from the teacher.

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[1] See *The Guardian*, Jan. 12, 1923.

[2] "Without a widespread system of education of the kind suited at once to India's capacity and to India's needs, the country cannot hope to realize those aspirations toward nationhood; which are at present cherished by so large a number of her present population."—Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1922-23*, p. 233. For a missionary's statement to the same effect see Fisher, *India's Silent Revolution*, p. 133. See also *Rural Education in India, Conference at Moga, Punjab, 1922*, p. 2.

OUTLINE OF THE COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE PUNJAB ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS[3]

PRIMARY SCHOOL
(four classes)

	PERIODS OF 22½ MIN.	HOURS
Class I		
Vernacular (Urdu, Punjabi, or Hindi)	24	9
Reading the primer and writing characters and words.		
Arithmetic	12	4½
Notation up to 100		
Multiplication tables to 10 x 10.		
Simple exercises in adding and subtracting up to 10, using concrete objects.		
Nature Lessons or Manual Occupations	6	2¼
Cow, goat, crow, fish, wheat, barley, grain or rice, maize or bajra, and four subjects to be selected.		
Simple Drill or Organized Games	6	2¼
Recess	6	2¼
Total per week	54	20¼
Class II		
Vernacular (Urdu, Punjabi, or Hindi)	30	11¼
Reading the first and second rural readers.		
Writing of words and sentences.		
Arithmetic	12	4½
Notation up to 100,000.		
Addition and Subtraction.		
Multiplication tables to 16 x 16.		
Multiplication and division up to 16.		
Ideas of ½, ¼, 1½, 1¼ (concretely).		
Geography	3	1
Distances and direction with special reference to the school premises.		
Cardinal points, course of the sun, plan of school and playground.		
Nature Lessons or Manual Occupations	6	2¼
Horse, ass, buffalo, hen, onion, rapeseed, carrot, radish, and four others.		
Simple Drill or Organized Games	6	2¼
Recess	6	2¼
Total per week	63	23½
Class III		
Vernacular (Urdu, Punjabi, or Hindi)	30	11¼
Reading of third and fourth readers.		
Writing.		

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[3] *Punjab Educational Code*, 9th Edition, Oct., 1915.

	Periods of 22½ min.	Hours
Arithmetic	12	4½
Long division and multiplication.		
Fractional tables (1½ and 1¼ to 20).		
Indian money tables.		
Reduction of money.		
Compound addition and subtraction of money.		
Geography	3	1
Geographical terms.		
Meaning and use of a map (map reading).		
Maps of village and district.		
Nature Lessons or Manual Occupations	6	2¼
Cat, rabbit, frog, squirrel, snake, rose, mango, quail, hemp or flax, orange, and five others.		
Simple Drill or Organized Games	6	2¼
Recess	6	2¼
Total per week	63	23½
Class IV		
Vernacular (Urdu, Punjabi, or Hindi)	30	11¼
Reading of fifth and sixth readers.		
Writing.		
Grammar (the sentence and its parts; parts of speech).		
Arithmetic	16	6
Compound multiplication and division of money.		
Measures of length, weight, time.		
Reduction factors and prime numbers.		
Easy L.C.M. and H.C.M.		
Vulgar fractions (excluding complex and continued).		
Fractional tables (¾, 2½, and 3½ to 20).		
Mahajani (trader's figures).		
Bank interest by native methods.		
Mensuration	4	1½
Square, rectangle, quadmi pamaish (pacing).		
Geography	4	1½
The Punjab, to be taught from a map.		
Nature Lessons, drawing or handwork	6	2¼
Physiological characteristics of animals, comparative study.		
Parts of plants and flowers.		
Comparison of vegetables, flowers, and grains.		
Drill and Organized Games	6	2¼
Recess	6	2¼
Total per week	72	27

Beyond the four-class primary school there are the lower middle school (continuing the fifth and sixth grades), and the upper middle school (continuing the seventh and eighth grades). Formerly these schools were of two kinds: vernacular and anglo-vernacular. However, since the decision in 1920 that all non-language subjects should be taught in the vernacular and not in English, and since English may be taken as a second language in what are known as vernacular schools, it was realized that there was no longer any value in this nomenclature, and so it was recommended that the distinctive terms of vernacular and anglo-vernacular be discontinued. The following is the outlined course of study for Classes V and VI recommended by a special committee appointed by the Educational Department:

LOWER MIDDLE SCHOOL

(Classes V and VI)[4]

	45-MINUTE PERIODS PER WEEK	
	FOR THOSE TAKING ENGLISH	FOR THOSE NOT TAKING ENGLISH
Vernacular	8	8
Mathematics	6	6
Science and Geography	5	5
History	2	2
Drawing	2	2
Agriculture or Manual Training or a second language (classical Persian or vernacular)	4	6
English	12	..
Advanced course of vernacular	..	6
Rural sanitation	..	4
Total per week	39	39

DETAILS OF THE ABOVE REQUIREMENTS

English is permitted only in schools having a total of eight grades, as it has been found that if English is studied in classes V and VI only, sufficient command of the language to make it worth while is not secured.

Vernacular consists of the reading of prescribed readers and classics, the writing of dictation, letters, and easy compositions, the study of grammar (parts of speech, gender, and number), and transliteration into the Roman script.

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[4] *Report of the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1919-20,* Appendix VI.

Mathematics (Classes V and VI) includes decimal fractions, simple interest, simple practice, native accounts, mensuration, continued and complex fractions, inverse cases of simple interest, complex practice, unitary method, square measure, English weights and measures, the metric system (length and area), and practical geometry.

Science consists of the general science of common things and common phenomena.

History deals with stories of all periods (ancient Indian history up to the present).

Geography covers the outline study of the world, Asia, and India, and elementary physical geography.

Drawing includes work in model, mass, and freehand drawing.

Agriculture includes practical gardening and simple agriculture, the cultivation of common flowers, plants, vegetables, and field crops, and the care of animals.

Rural Sanitation consists of stories regarding hygiene and sanitation.

ADDITIONAL FACTS CONCERNING THE OFFICIAL CURRICULUM

1. A school code is published which describes the course of study for each type of school, giving a statement of the skills to be mastered and details of the subject-matter requirements for any given subject. These are stated for each grade and are uniform for all schools. The Code also contains various rules for schools: the requirements as to staff, equipment, buildings, school year, grant-in-aid rules, details as to reports, etc.
2. The daily time table and a syllabus for the work of each class and for each subject of study are usually prepared by the head teacher but are approved by the Government inspector. The time table is rigidly adhered to and the syllabus is often worked out by merely stating the pages of the textbook to be completed in a given time.
3. The textbooks used must be those contained in an approved list prepared by the Government Textbook Committee, after an examination of the books submitted by various pub-

lishers. It also arranges for the translation of books for vernacular schools and libraries.

4. The methods used, while considerably improved in recent years, still place the main emphasis upon securing such command of the material in the textbook as can be quickly and accurately given back to the teacher on demand. Examinations require this type of information and it often meets the requirements of inspectors.

5. Discipline is strict and often repressive. Generally the quiet, orderly classroom, in which affairs move by mechanical, organized routine, receives commendation.

6. The equipment is often meagre, for most of it is purchased, to the neglect of the abundance of educative material available in the community if one only knows how to use it. While buildings are being improved, there are still in the villages many rented one-room mud houses with mud floors—unsanitary, badly lighted and ventilated, and altogether unadapted to school purposes.

7. Educational results are checked by formal government inspection, which usually occurs twice each year, by school examinations, and, in the middle school, by a uniform, official (provincial) examination.

Officially Suggested Alterations in the Elementary School Curriculum

In May, 1923, a committee was appointed by the Minister of Education to consider and report on vernacular school courses with a view to their simplification and to the general improvement of vernacular education in the Punjab.[5] The chairman in his report commented on recent improvements but said that there was "already evidence to show that the system which was more or less suited to the needs of education on a comparatively small and restricted scale is not (especially in the period of transition) so well adapted to the needs of education on a much wider scale."[6] He stated further that certain problems had arisen which could be neither ignored nor postponed.

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[5] This committee consisted of inspectors of schools, principals, teachers, and representatives of normal schools.

[6] *Proceedings of the Committee on the Improvement of Vernacular Education in the Punjab*, p. 2.

One of these problems has grown out of the substitution of a four-year primary course for a three-year or a five-year course. This was done to reduce the teaching load in single-teacher schools, to co-ordinate the work with urban and higher schools, and to secure more effective learning. The objections urged against this school are, in the first place, that the education possible in a four-year course is inadequate to the practical needs of the pupils, and, in the second place, it has been found that "some at least of the pupils leaving the primary school have not been made permanently literate."[7] The committee recorded its judgment that the standard Indian elementary school of the future should offer six years of work and further stated that "the acceptance of this principle has been rendered feasible by the recent departmental recognition of the lower middle school."[8]

While the Minister of Education approved of the Committee's conclusion on this point as a goal to be striven for, he stated that the present urgent task was to supply each four-class school with an enrollment of forty pupils or more and with two teachers each. When this process has been completed, he said, "the next measure of development should be a more rapid conversion of suitably located and well attended primary schools into lower middle schools (six grades) with a staff of at least three teachers each."[9] As an intermediate step it was suggested that there should be at least one middle school for every four or five primary schools.

Another urgent problem is that of the curriculum, which has been said to be not altogether suited to the requirements of pupils residing in rural areas and which therefore needs such revision as will bring it more closely into relationship with the life and environment of the pupils.

For the rural primary school, the Committee recommended that the existing course be simplified by reducing the number of so-called subjects to the three R's and physical training. Other subjects now included in the course, such as geography, nature study, etc., should be omitted as separate subjects but should have considerable of their subject matter, along with other matters of rural interest, included in the class readers.[10]

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[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Proceedings of the Punjab Government* (*Ministry of Education*), No. 13072M, Nov. 6, 1923.

In better staffed schools, where a higher grade of work might reasonably be expected, it was recommended that permission be given to undertake a wider curriculum, but the Minister of Education did not favor this, maintaining rather that the few exceptional schools which might be able to extend the curriculum would find ample scope for wider activity in connection with the reading lesson.[11] Experimentation was thus not to be encouraged, all primary schools being expected to use only the minimum course (the three R's and physical training).

As to lower middle schools (fifth and sixth grades), the Committee felt that these classes should hereafter be regarded not as the starting point of secondary education but as the logical outcome and completion of the primary school. At the same time, the whole six years of work should be a preparation for the upper middle school. It was also assumed that these schools would be much better staffed so that additional subjects of study (beyond those in the primary course) might be taught, these to include "subjects having practical utility rather than merely academic value." The following additional subjects were recommended: geography, general reading and oral instruction in sanitation, hygiene, agriculture (including the care of cattle), co-operation, biographies from Indian history, and civics. The formal teaching of science, history, and drawing was to be discontinued, but information about them was to be given in the reading course. The Committee believed that a procedure of this kind would not necessarily be accompanied by any loss of efficiency in general information but would probably result in more attention to the essential skills and a higher standard of achievement in them.

It was also hoped that the agricultural courses would serve to bring education into closer relationship with the rural environment. Agriculture was not to be taught as a vocational course at this stage but rather was to be used "as a means of mental discipline and training and as an accessory to the general subjects taught in the schools." The teachers were to be pedagogically trained with one year's work in agriculture. For each middle school selected for this work, a small piece of ground for gardening and farm work was to be secured, which was to be worked by the pupils. Agriculture was to be made the background for a general education and was to be used to give a rural tone to the whole curriculum.

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[10] "Supplementary oral instruction is to be given at the time of reading these lessons with the expectation that such instruction will be absorbed so as to become a part of the mental equipment of the pupil," leading him to take an intelligent interest in the things around him.—*Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

The question of the inclusion of English is a matter on which there is still much difference of opinion. On the one hand are those who emphasize the importance of the vernacular as a subject of study and as a medium of instruction. They believe that the teaching of only a few years of English is a waste of time and money for the pupil who does not go on to a higher school, since he does not secure sufficient command of the language to make any practical use of it. There are those also who feel that the introduction of English into an elementary school makes pupils who cannot proceed further, dissatisfied with rural life and that it tends to denationalize them. Where English is an optional subject, they say, it frequently causes invidious social distinctions between those who select English and those who study agriculture. On the other hand are the educators who contend that the English language affords an entrance to a great storehouse of knowledge which should be made available to every future citizen of India and that it is an open door to larger opportunities of life and service.

The committee especially appointed by the Minister to study this matter decided that a two years' course in English has no permanent value and that optional English should be permitted only where at least four years' study can be given to it (in the eight-grade school). Where English is so taught it should be given an amount of time equal to that given in an anglo-vernacular (urban) school. Furthermore, English and agriculture as elective subjects should not be treated as mutually exclusive. The committee also gave it as their opinion that the development and spread of vernacular education should be the first charge on public funds and that pupils electing to take English should pay the fees now levied in anglo-vernacular schools.[12]

An important recent educational development in the Punjab has been the increased attention paid to scientific methods of physical training and to healthy recreation. The new course of physical education has been developed by a specialist, and teachers are being trained to carry out the work on the lines suggested. District physical advisers who have an understanding of the course and its principles and who are able to give demonstrations and adequate guidance are to supervise the work done in the schools. This work is to be supplemented by a school medical service which will have as its aims: the health of individual pupils; improvement of environmental conditions; and training in sanitary and domestic hygiene. This is to be carried out chiefly by local medical officers using methods of inspection and demonstration and is not to be a part of the teacher's work.

Analysis of the Government Curriculum and Its Recently Suggested Alterations

It is significant that until recent years there has been little in the way of a definite statement of educational aims from official sources. In a textbook written by a former Director of Public Instruction and used for many years in Government normal schools, the following aims are given:

1. To equip a boy with the knowledge which will help him to earn his living and which will help him to get on in life, if he has sufficient ability.
2. To give him that general knowledge which will enable him to enjoy life by making use of those powers of mind and body with which he has been endowed.
3. To train his mind to use the knowledge which he has acquired and to apply it to the various circumstances of life.
4. To build up by discipline, precept, and by example habits of right thinking and doing, so that he may turn his knowledge and his powers to good use.[13]

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[12] *Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Place of English Teaching in Vernacular Middle Schools*, April, 1922.

[13] Richey, *Manual for Teachers of Primary Schools in India*, pp. 8-9.

Since the inauguration of the Five-Year Campaign, the aims of vernacular education have been much more frequently and specifically stated as merely the removal of illiteracy.[14] The following statement is typical: "The Minister regards the removal of illiteracy by means of vernacular agencies as the most urgent educational need of the Province at the present time."[15] In the primary schools, then, the tools of literacy, together with general rural information contained in the reading course and a closer co-ordination with and preparation for the higher schools, have been the aims consciously and definitely striven for.

Regarding the Vernacular Middle school, it is stated that

> the curriculum should clearly be such as to prepare the great majority of those who attend the schools for their occupation in life after school days are over. On the one hand, it may be held that it should aim primarily at raising an efficient, industrious, intelligent and contented rural population, possessed of all the advantages which literacy has to offer and able to take a useful place among the future citizens of India. From this standpoint it should bear directly on the life and environment of the pupils and should admit with extreme caution such additional subjects of instruction as would tend to arouse discontent with rural conditions or to sweep into the broad stream which leads to professional vocations, those of our rural youths who are better fitted by tradition and training to follow rural pursuits. Against this may be set the claims of equal opportunity for all and the duty of affording to the dweller in the country the chance of an anglo-vernacular education which will enable him to proceed to institutions of higher education or to other than rural occupations.[16]

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[14] "Of the 247 million inhabitants of British India less than nine million are at present being educated. In other words, considerably less than 4 per cent of this vast population is under the influence of instruction. . . . According to the census of 1921, the number of literates in India was 22.6 millions (19.8 million males and 2.8 million females). In other words, only 122 per thousand of Indian men and 18 per thousand Indian women can read and write. (The figures of the Census of 1911 were 106 for men and 10 for women.)"—Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1923-24*, p. 226.

[15] *Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education)*, No. 13072M, Nov. 6, 1923.

[16] *Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Place of English Teaching in Vernacular Middle Schools*, Appendix I, p. 12.

Apart from these general aims and some subject-matter requirements, there are no specific objectives either for achievement in subject matter or for personal and social development. The urgent necessity for definite objectives based upon the pupils' needs in the fields of knowledge, habits, appreciations, or attitudes, has not yet been fully realized.

An examination of the official curriculum and its proposed modifications reveals again the extent to which Indian education has become separated from real life and experience. Mere literacy has been increasingly emphasized as the goal of primary education, due to the mistaken idea that the reduction of subjects to the three R's would simplify the teacher's task. The machinery of the three R's has been mistaken for the valuable product of that machinery; the means of locomotion on the journey have been mistaken for the goal. The school is the agency which should help the child to grow and to adjust himself to his environment; yet the aim of literacy here contemplated and the way in which the abstract materials of literacy are presented have nothing in common with the child's out-of-school life. At present the child is unable to utilize the experience he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself, and he is also unable to apply in his daily life what he is learning at school. The child thus tends to live in two worlds, one being natural, free, and closely related to life interests and needs, and the other apart, detached, with an emphasis upon things that have value in the classroom but nowhere else. At least, the child has never learned to utilize for his own interests and purposes the symbols taught in school. The result is a complete separation between the child and the subject matter[17]

Again, the emphasis in school is not upon any present social use of the knowledge and skills taught but rather upon a distant and vague future in which they may be needed. But even when that future arrives, the situation demanding the use of these skills is so different from the school conditions in which they were learned, that the pupil is often unable to make the necessary adjustment. Frequently he is obliged to learn them again, in response to the practical situations demanding their use. Why, then, should not the pupil learn the requisite skills in the first place in valuable life situations developed in the classroom?[18]

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[17] "Education does not mean something to be taught, but someone. To use two awkward but expressive words, it is 'child-centric' not 'subject-centric.' Those who have made the child their first consideration have found by actual experience that subject matter does not suffer but on the contrary benefits beyond all preconceptions."—J. H. Warnshuis, "Religious Education in India," *International Review of Missions.*

While the contemplated goals for elementary education also include information about matters of general interest in village life, to be given in connection with lessons in reading, a fundamental weakness of such a method is the confusion between information and knowledge, and the unfounded belief that oral instruction in these matters will bring about their functioning in pupils' lives. Learning can be said to have taken place only when there is a change in the child's way of behaving, a reconstruction of his own experience with the new experience and a facility in the use of the new way of acting. The natural way to secure this result is to give the child something to do rather than something to "learn,"[19] and so to guide him in his doing that he finds a need for using valuable textbook material.

The official curriculum also disregards ideals, attitudes, appreciations, social interaction and co-operation as aims; yet these are surely more important than information or formal skills. In fact it is these characteristics which will largely decide whether or not the pupil will continue his education after he leaves school and what his whole outlook upon life will be. There are even probabilities that, through compelling the child to secure a verbal command of extrinsic subject matter, definitely harmful attitudes will be built up. Inattention, dawdling, deception, lack of initiative are common traits among school children and are frequently the result of forcing uninteresting, remote, and difficult subject matter upon pupils whose interests and purposes are elsewhere.

The official course of study also ignores the development of those attitudes and ways of living which make for health and cleanliness, for the understanding and appreciation of home and community life, for the wise use of leisure time, for good citizenship, and for the disposition and the ability to contribute to the improvement of the village and the wider environment.[20]

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[18] This view is well expressed by S. H. Fremantle in *A Policy of Rural Education,* and by J. H. Oldham, in his *Our Christian Debt to India,* p. 17. See also E. L. King, *Youth and Vocation in India.*

[19] See J. W. Nave, "The Meaning of Education," in *Methodist Education;* Morris, *Village Education, Its Goal,* p. 2.

This leads to another pertinent criticism of the curriculum, that it is not based upon the village child's life but has rather been brought into being by the requirements of urban classes and by the domination of higher institutions and of official examinations. G. A. Wathen, in a paper read before the Imperial Education Conference, 1923, expressed this as follows:

> Up till recently all Punjab schools have been dominated by a course of instruction designed for urban classes. . . . In the past the village teacher has often been a stranger in the village and being himself the product of a system where education is regarded merely as a means of qualifying for government or clerical service, he has been apt to set before his pupils that one ambition.[21]

Objection should be made, however, to the statement that rural education should invariably lead pupils to follow rural pursuits and to remain contented upon the land. Such a policy is neither democratic nor socially and politically advisable. Rural dwellers are entitled to as complete and valuable an education as urban residents, providing only that they have the natural capacity for it. A peculiarly rural education will lead in time to the creation of a separate rural class, to further division between town and country, and to a continuance of over-population upon the land. Village education must be in terms of rural life, but this does not mean that it should be narrow and circumscribed.

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[20] "What, then, is wrong with our schools? Why are they unsatisfactory? Broadly speaking, there are two great defects in them. They do not aim deliberately to develop every side of the potential manhood and womanhood of the children, and they afford no intelligent and systematic training in citizenship."—J. V. Job, "Indianization of Mission Schools," paper read at Christian Teachers' Conference, Madura, Jan. 24, 1920. See also K. T. Paul, *Adult Education, an Urgent Need of Modern India.*

[21] "Education in the Punjab." See also *Report of a Conference on Rural Education,* Abmednagar, June, 1923, and Knowlton, *The Teaching of Agriculture in the Schools of the Punjab,* p. 21.

Finally a detailed examination of the subject matter taught in each grade reveals material which is not only beyond the comprehension of the child, but also seldom or never used in actual life situations, either in the village or the city. As examples of the former, there are the concepts of numbers up to 100,000 and all the multiplication tables to 16x16, which are expected of the child in the second grade, and fractional tables and complicated arithmetic problems, which are expected in the third and fourth grades. Examples of the latter are the multiplication tables of 11, 13, 14, and 15, which seem to have little or no application to life. There are also many H.C.M and L.C.M. problems, complex and continued fractions, inverse cases of interest, as well as complicated problems in the fundamental processes, with numbers of many digits. Far too much arithmetic is required, especially in the lowest grades, and, what makes the situation worse, there is the continued requirement of material and processes which have been discarded as useless by most modern systems of education. Other subjects of study are also in need of simplification, especially with regard to the removal of all that is merely formal and unrelated to social practice and use. Moreover, these various subjects of study are largely unrelated to each other, occupying, as it were, separate compartments. Each has its own separate and distinct emphasis on the rigid time table; each is taught according to formal and logically arranged textbooks and previously prepared syllabi; and all are isolated from the pupils' lives and from community needs.

The official curriculum, like earlier British educational practices, also makes little use of the Indian heritage of folk tales, poems, dramas, art, music, and other important contributions to truth and beauty.

METHODS IN USE WITH THE OFFICIAL COURSE OF STUDY AND THEIR EVALUATION

A formal extrinsic course of study usually results in methods of repetition, memorizing, and cramming. A considerable number of schools still follow these harmful methods, which have been handed down from both English and Indian practice.[22]

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[22] See Young and Ferrers, *India in Conflict*, pp. 41, 42, and Lala Lajpat Rai, *The Problems of National Education in India*, p. 175.

In some of the backward schools pupils sit on the floor to study and sway back and forth to the rhythm of a sing-song drone as they memorize paragraph after paragraph of prescribed subject matter. When books are scarce a pupil monitor is put in charge. He points to letters or words, multiplication facts or simple problems, and at the same time sings out their names in a droning wail, after which the class repeats in unison what he has said. The rhythm, regularity, and persistance of this exercise are so soothing that pupils tend to repeat what is said automatically. Inspectors have frequently pointed to incorrect figures without a single pupil's knowing the difference.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, speaking of his boyhood, points out the following four great weaknesses of method in the schools: (1) the aim was to impart information as opposed to the development of the self, and the methods used were those of memorizing and cramming in order to meet examinations and their requirements; (2) emphasis was placed only upon the physical and mental phases of life (memorizing), thus dividing life into compartments and breaking its unity; (3) the religious side of life was neglected and there was the lack of a reverent, devotional spirit; (4) the school was characterized by dreary monotony and routine.

Lala Lajpat Rai voices the criticisms of many when he says:

> The system of education that stresses the authority of the teacher, which is based on suspicion of human nature and human tendencies, which is distrustful of childhood and youth, which is openly out for control and discipline and subordination, which has no respect for the instincts of boys and girls, is not an ideal system for the production of self-reliant, progressive men and women that the new India wants.[23]

A careful evaluation of existing methods reveals their tendency to deaden and paralyze school life and education because of their emphasis upon routine and rigidity, their indoctrination regarding subject matter, their unreality with reference to life and child nature, their uniformity of product, their repression of personality, and their externality with reference to results. They also are often competitive and anti-social in classroom relationships and are largely divorced from both the child's and the community's interests and experiences.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 55. See also *Rural Education, What It Is and What It Might Be*, Statement of Conference on Rural Education, Moga, 1923-24.

RESULTS OBTAINED FROM THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The pupils who have been benefited most from the schooling received have been those who have gone on to higher schools; yet even these have been hindered by the habits of apathy, mental inertia, and the poor techniques for study and thinking which have been developed in their earlier education. Those remaining in the villages have not received an education which has vitally influenced their lives or which has led to the improvement of village conditions. In fact, pupils have frequently developed a dislike for village life and occupations and yet have not been prepared for anything else.

Even with regard to instructional results, the figures for retardation, especially with reference to the stagnation in the first grade, and for elimination, as well as for the large relapse into illiteracy, are startling. The following statistics[24] indicate some of these weaknesses: Enrollment, 207,366 in the first class; 81,625 in the second; 58,889 in the third; and 46,465 in the fourth. The percentages in the first class are approximately 53 per cent; in the second, 20 per cent; in the third, 15 per cent; and in the fourth, 12 per cent. This indicates the great wastage and retardation, many of the pupils in the lowest grades having been there for a number of years.[25]

Better results are being obtained, however, from the lower vernacular middle schools (six grades), which combine a general education with agriculture, but as yet these schools are not available to many rural children.

GENERAL SUMMARY

The Government curriculum is largely the result of two strong influences. The first of these is tradition. Education in

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[24] *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1921-22*, p. 26.

[25] "Over half of the pupils are studying only the vehicles of knowledge. Ninety per cent of the children are in the lower primary classes (I, II, III,); over 45 per cent in the infant classes (Ia. Ib). About 39 per cent lapse into illiteracy within five years of leaving school." *Report on Progress of Education in India* (Quinquennium 1912-17).

England in the early Victorian period was largely a formal, circumscribed, literary type of training designed to prepare a selected class for higher education or for business pursuits. In the best institutions this formal training was reinforced by a fine tradition and school spirit which favorably influenced character. However, when this idea of education and this curriculum were transferred to India, only the formal subject matter, textbook, and examination sides were emphasized, and the character-forming traditions and spirit were largely absent. Nor were Indian traditions and culture utilized to develop a life-giving Indian spirit.[26]

The second great influence upon the present curriculum has been the molding power and control of passing pressures and circumstances. Subjects of study have been added or eliminated depending upon public opinion, financial needs, or administrative conditions, rather than upon any carefully prepared educational program.

> The truth of the matter is that England has had no educational policy in India, either malevolent as some writers declare; or benevolent as others are disposed to think. The exigencies of circumstance and of finance; the presence or absence of men of vision and grasp of educational ideals among officials; the influence of private educational efforts—these and other variable causes have been producing some results in the realm of education, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. Beyond this, Government has not been following any consistent educational policy.[27]

Surely a very great need today is the development of such a large educational policy as that which has been formulated recently for the Punjab province. If this Punjab program could only be enlarged to include a thorough study of individual and social needs, in order to determine functional educational objectives and content and if such a curriculum could be developed from them as would bring about the fullest growth of each pupil in terms of social welfare and improvement, much would be accomplished both for educational progress and for national development. Until such vital interests and curriculum activities are available for the pupils, it is difficult to see how their abilities and characters can be developed or their communities improved.

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[26] Garfield H. Williams, "The Last Ten Years in India," *International Review of Missions,* July, 1923.

[27] P. O. Philip, Book Review of Oaks, *England's Educational Policy in India, National Christian Council Review.*

CHAPTER VI

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND OUTSTANDING INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS

THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION

THE RISE of nationalism and the development of political consciousness in India served to accentuate and extend the feeling of her leaders that the educational system was exotic and foreign. The results were extensive criticism of the official type of education, the advocacy of a system of national education, and the starting of certain institutions embodying the ideals advocated. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, C.I.E., at the Annual Educational Conference at Madras, May, 1921, expressed the prevailing criticism as follows:

> It is a conviction of the Indian educated community that the Western system of education in India has been barren of results and that this failure is due to the fact that those who were responsible for its direction and control have ignored India's racial psychology, history, and literature, especially in the region of patriotic ideals and aspirations.[1]

This movement for national education expressed itself, generally speaking, in two forms, the one constructive and the other destructive. In the first form, much thought and effort were given to developing a truly national education; in the second form, which was largely political, national education was made a political cry and was included in the non-co-operation campaign. It is not intimated, however, that political leaders were not perfectly sincere in their statements that the existing education was foreign, neglectful of Indian culture and aspirations, and even productive of "slavish mentality." But this phase of the national education movement was largely destructive and measured its success by the number of students it prevailed upon to leave government schools rather than by its constructive contributions. In fact, it had little of a constructive nature to offer except that the vernaculars should be the media of instruction, that spinning should be a part of the curriculum, and that some of the principles of the political program of the National Congress should be emphasized.

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[1] See also Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta,* p. 13, and F. Y. Brown, "India's Struggle for Education," Part II, "From the Standpoint of the British Administration," *Current History,* XXII (July, 1925), 582-87. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in her presidential address at the 40th session of the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore, Dec. 26, 1925, said: "We are today no more than the futile puppets of an artificial and imitative system of education, which is unsuited entirely to the special trend of our social genius. It has robbed us of our proper mental values and perspectives and deprived us of all true initiative and originality in seeking authentic modes of self-expression."

Mahatma Gandhi, chief exponent of the non-co-operation movement, has made an appeal for a simpler, freer, happier, more contemplative type of life. He is opposed to the subordination of personality and expression to machinery and production; to the vast wealth of the few gained by the labors of the many; to the exalting of material things and the neglect of the cultural and spiritual. He desires such education and training as will help the masses to get more out of life. He emphasizes Indian culture, language, religion, contemplation, the development of self-restraint and self-control, and working with the hands and feet. He especially advocates spinning. He feels that the foundation of education laid by Macaulay has enslaved the Indians and that their salvation consists in unlearning what they have learned in the last fifty years.

The National Congress gave its conception of national education when it stated that it did not regard any institution as national which did not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction; which did not actively encourage Hindu-Moslem unity; which excluded untouchables; which did not make hand-spinning and carding and training in physical culture and self-defense compulsory; in which teachers and students over the age of twelve years did not spin for at least half an hour per working day; and in which students and teachers did not habitually wear Khaddar (Indian homespun).[2]

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[2] See also the following statement by Mrs. Annie Besant: "What must our *National* education be? It must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom, and morality and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of creeds."

In actual practice, however, there was little difference in content and method between the Government schools and the new national schools:

> Such distinctive features as the new schools showed, were unworthy of imitation. Great stress has been laid by Mr. Gandhi upon the use of the spinning wheel and encouragement of the vernacular. But extensive spinning, whatever its economic value, has little worth in education as compared with that possessed by other forms of hand and eye training. Even an elementary knowledge of child nature is sufficient to explain why the spinning wheel has fallen into disuse in so many institutions. Further, there were no signs of reaction against Western subjects, languages, or ideas, and there was little evidence that the vernacular was any more extensively used in the national schools than it is under present regulations in recognized institutions.[3]

It may be that a functional, co-ordinated curriculum might later have been worked out, but during the time that this phase of non-co-operation prevailed, little in the way of truly national education was offered to students who, at the request of political leaders, withdrew from "recognized" institutions. As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has said, "Indian youths are asked to bring their patriotic offering of sacrifice, 'not to a fuller education, but to non-education'."[4] With the wane of the non-co-operation campaign, this type of national school has largely disappeared. The movement, however, is not without significance, in that it has indicated "profound dissatisfaction with the present system."[5]

The more constructive type of national education has exerted an influence over a very considerable number of years. As far back as 1883, Lala Lajpat Rai advocated national education in the Punjab,[6] and the founding of the Dayanand Anglo Vernacular College in Lahore was an expression of the desire to provide an education rooted in Indian soil. The original prospectus of this college emphasized the bridging of the gulf between the educated classes and the uneducated masses, stressed the necessity of technical education in arts and industries which would help to make the future leaders of the country independent of government service, and insisted upon a scheme of national education absolutely independent of Government patronage and help. In the actual development of the college, the government curriculum has largely been followed, but there has been more emphasis upon Indian languages and Indian culture than exists in government schools. An outstanding contribution of the college has been the devotion of the principal and staff of teachers throughout many years; they have given their whole-hearted efforts for small stipends of about 900 rupees (£60) a year. This unselfish service has had its merited result in the life, influence, and service of many students.

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[3] Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1923-24.*

[4] Quoted in Chirol, *India, Old and New,* pp. 286-87.

[5] Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1921-22.*

[6] "Education is the vital question for us. It is the most important of all our problems. In a way it is the fundamental problem. . . . Our whole future hinges on it. We cannot afford to have loose and confused ideas about education."—*Op. cit.,* p. 31. See also Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India,* p. 259.

Other similar institutions emphasizing national aspirations are the Fergusson College, Poona, the Central Hindu University at Benares, and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental University at Aligarh. It is significant that all of these efforts in the direction of a more national education were of college grade. The main concentration of energy was upon the higher classes of Indian society; and thus the mistaken policy of the Government was repeated.

All these institutions sought to do little beyond combining with Western education the special religious and ethical training of the particular denomination of each. They were national only in so far as they helped to create the denominational atmosphere desired by their promulgators. "The principal business of the staffs engaged was to prepare students for university examinations. The results achieved in these examinations were the measure of their success and popularity. Special efforts were no doubt made in each institution to inoculate the students with the serum of that narrow nationalism which had inspired its founders."[7]

This narrow nationalism and sectarianism have been denounced by several Indian leaders. Mahatma Gandhi has specifically criticized this type of college (especially the Central

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[7] Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

Hindu University), as having failed to inject a new and creative spirit into its curriculum. The same criticism could also be made with reference to the methods employed and the forms of administrative procedure.

In addition to the above movements, Indian leaders frequently, through the press and on the platform, advocated the educational aims and ideals which they desire in any truly national system of education. They have expressed eloquently the need of an education for India that will lead to richer and more satisfying living; to an intelligent patriotism and an effective citizenship; to development of character; and to the eliminating or redirecting of prevailing negative attitudes. They have stressed the educational value of Indian culture, of environment, and of national languages, and they have urged the necessity of educating women.[8] They have recognized the supreme importance of religion in India and have stressed its great value in the educational process. As to organization and method, Indian leaders have emphasized out-of-door instruction; a close relationship with nature; direct and personal contact between pupil and teacher; a school environment which emphasizes simple and noble living; the stimulation of thought and inquiry; freedom and creative activity; meditation, devotion, and service; and the development of artistic appreciation in various fields.

Dr. Tagore's School, Santiniketan

Of the interesting educational experiments made by Indians and emphasizing Indian culture, adaptation to Indian life, and the ideals of ancient Indian education, probably the best known and most outstanding in every way is the school established by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Bolpur.

This school, called Santiniketan, "the abode of peace," is located out in the country on the Bengal plains, where distances and silences are such as to calm one's spirit and turn one's thoughts to divine things. "The flood of sunshine with the shimmering lights and wonderful shades, the limitless expanse of the stars at night encircling one with the silence of the world beyond," make one feel that the name of the school is well chosen.

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[8] Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of the *Indian Social Reformer,* stated in an address that he would "give first place in any program of social reform to universal, free, compulsory education" and that in education he would "give first place to the education of girls. The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family and in a larger sense than the education of a single man."

Dr. Tagore was led to found the school because of his feeling of dissatisfaction with the conditions of modern society. His search for a remedy led him to the conviction that in the type of learning of the forest asrams lay the hope of imparting peace and depth to a society whose chief faults in his eyes were its feverish restlessness and its shallowness of life and thought.[9] The more he studied and observed, the stronger became his conviction that the panacea for all of India's weakness was education—liberal education, full of freedom, harmony, and love, an education that would develop not only intellect but also spiritual personality. Dr. Tagore himself states the purpose of his school in the following words:

> To give spiritual culture to our boys was my principal object. Fortunately in our ancient forest schools, teachers (whose aim was to realize their lives in God) had their homes. The atmosphere was full of the aspiration for the infinite and the students who grew up with their teachers, closely united with them in spiritual relationship, felt the reality of God—for it was no mere creed imposed upon them or speculative abstraction. Having this idea in me of a school which should be a *home and temple in one,* where teaching should be part of a worshipful life, I selected this spot away from all distractions of the town, hallowed by the memory of a pious life (my father), whose days were passed here in communion with God.[10]

Dr. Tagore seeks to obtain the home element through developing a sense of unity between the staff and the students, and a spirit of brotherliness, sympathy, mutual effort, and service. With this there is also an atmosphere of freedom, stimulation, guidance, and encouragement. The temple element he seeks through emphasis upon meditation and worship, communion with nature, and expression in service. Each morning and evening there are opportunities for meditation and praise and once a week a special religious service. Social service both in the school and in the near-by villages, taking the form of sanitation, health work, agriculture, and fire protection, is emphasized. Thus, though the school is patterned after the ancient forest asrams so far as principles and ideals are concerned, many of its methods and much of its content are modern. An effort is made to combine in life the spiritual tendencies of India with the spirit of social service so characteristic of Western society. It is a striking, inspiring attempt to combine the best of the old and the new.

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[9] B. K. Roy, "Tagore and His Model School at Bolpur," *The Independent,* LXXIX (Aug. 3, 1914), 162-64.

[10] At the Convention of the Progressive Education Association, Baltimore, April 7-8, 1922.

Creative endeavor receives much emphasis at Santiniketan, especially along the lines of literature and music. Dr. Tagore believes that such "education is true which acknowledges the mind to be a living thing and therefore stimulates it to give out more in quality and quantity than is imparted to it from the outside."[11]

Consistently with this theory he has encouraged in his school the spontaneous expression of each lad's spirit in song and poem. He assumes that it is a perfectly normal thing for them to be producing and bringing to him their efforts, without hesitation or formality. The boys have several manuscript school magazines, in which they are encouraged to think and write for themselves and for which illustrations are handed in.[12]

It has been said of the organization of the school that it "impresses one as being more of a protest against existing educational conditions than a revival—a protest carried out by a mind which, with a fine contempt for difficulties, leaps at once over all barriers to its own solution. The very boldness of it takes one's breath away. Are most schools located in towns and therefore confined and unhealthy? Then this one must be in the country and presto, it is done."[13] The school is located on a slight knoll from which the fields slope away in every direction. In the asram itself there are fine trees and scented shrubbery. There is abundance of space, fresh air, sunlight and shade, and growing things. Do classrooms in ordinary schools cramp the pupils, keep them in badly ventilated and lighted rooms and affect their eyesight and general health? Then these, too must be abandoned and arrangements are made for classes to meet in open verandahs and under the trees.

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[11] B. K. Roy, *op. cit.*

[12] From the Introduction to W. W. Pearson's *Shantiniketan, the Bolpur School of Rabindranath Tagore.*

[13] *Young Men of India*, p. 726. For the substance of what follows I am also indebted to this source.

Are school boys ordinarily controlled by a rigid and unsympathetic discipline? Do they look upon the school as something which condemns their interests and cramps their spirits? Then away with all such discipline and autocratic power. Let pupils manage their own affairs and learn, through responsibility and self-control, true leadership and self-government. To a large extent pupils make their own rules, elect their own leaders, have their own student court, and supervise their own examinations.

Do headmasters become set in their ways, exacting in their demands, and divorced from the human element and its needs? Then immediately the poet does away with an official headmaster and puts a council of teachers in control. Of this council, one member is selected each year to be the executive head responsible for the management of the school.

Are boys taught too much in large groups? Does the individual get lost in the mass and are his peculiar gifts and capacities neglected? Then the lavish hand of the poet pours out an increasing supply of teachers, till there is one to every eight or nine pupils, and every pupil has the opportunity of receiving individual attention.[14] Dr. Tagore expects his teachers to give themselves to the pupils' interests and development. He, in turn, gives himself freely and liberally to the teachers, feeling that in this way they will be best fitted to help the pupils. Each evening a bell calls the teachers and their wives to the verandah of his bungalow. Some great literary masterpiece is read, and this is followed by an informal discussion. The object of this is to build up esprit-de-corps, to keep the teachers mentally alert, and to bring them into intimate touch with the poet's ideals.

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[14] The school has about 150 pupils, ranging in age from six to eighteen years, and a staff of over twenty teachers.

Does life tend to become complicated, with too much time, money, and effort given to the merely outward and relatively less important things? Then away with these and back to essential realities. "Simplicity of living and high thinking are fundamental elements in sound education." At Bolpur the buildings and equipment are of the simplest, and there has been very little definite planning as to structures and locations. "There is no sign of the Western emphasis on culture through architecture." Little is required in the way of equipment for eating, sleeping, or work in the classroom; the floor, mats, or even the bare ground are utilized. The clothes of the pupils are simple and inexpensive. Light cotton garments (*dhoti* and *kurta*), often of homespun, are worn, with no shoes or stockings even in the winter, which is mild in Bengal. The food is plain, inexpensive, and strictly vegetarian.

Probably the best general view of the school's ideals and methods is to be had in an account of a day's program, which is beautifully told by Mr. C. F. Andrews in his little book, *To the Students:*

> If I were to describe to you one day in the Asram with the boys, that would perhaps bring home to you its inner beauty. Long before sunrise, like the birds in our own Amloki groves, our boys awake. The choristers are the first to rise, and they go around the Asram singing their morning hymn. You can hear the voices in the distance, drawing nearer and nearer; and then the sound dies away, as the choir passes on to another part of the Asram and then again, it comes nearer and nearer. The beauty of the sound in the silent morning air and the sense of joy and reverence which it brings, give peace to the soul.
>
> After an interval each boy takes his little square mat into the fields and sits down on it to meditate in his own place alone. Later on, before the school work begins, the boys all stand together in the shade of the trees and sing their hymn to God. Till half past ten the work of the school goes on. We have no classrooms. The boys sit with their teachers in the open air, under the trees. There are no large classes. A group of eight or ten boys will be seated round the teacher asking him questions. Very few books are used. Like the education which Plato loved at Athens, the greater part is carried on through conversation. The boys soon learn to open out all their difficulties to their teachers and teachers get keenly interested in the

boys' questions and answers. . . . Such living education can never be dull.

When the morning work is over, the boys bathe and go to their meal. About two o'clock in the afternoon the school classes begin again; but at this time the work is chiefly with the hand, as well as with the mind. Handiwork is practiced and a boy's own natural tastes are soon discovered. Some prefer carpentering; others prefer mechanical work; others enjoy spinning and weaving; others become draftsmen or painters; others musicians. There is very little book work in the afternoon.

School is over at about four o'clock, and then there is a rush to get first into the great open fields for football. Our boys are famous everywhere for their sports and games.

In the evening at sunset they return from the fields and sit down once more for a short time to meditate in silence. As night comes on fairy stories are told; short dramas are recited; our Gurudeva's songs are sung, and the different school gatherings are held. By nine o'clock all are glad to retire to rest, and again the choristers go around the Asram singing their last evening hymn. There can be no question as to the happiness of the life of our boys. Their faces tell the story of their joy and freedom. There is no freer life in India than the life of our children at Santiniketan.

Agricultural School at Surul

Another institution associated with Santiniketan is the Agricultural School at Surul, which aims to teach agriculture and its related industries and to lead students in village reconstruction. The method used is to provide pupils with land and stock, for which they pay rent and which they work in co-operation with the general farm and under the supervision of its manager. Each student grows the vegetables or crops in which he is most interested, and his difficulties and problems are the basis of the classroom instruction. The student harvests his product, sells it, and keeps the proceeds left after the necessary expenses are paid. The aim is to make students as nearly self-supporting as possible. Records are kept of the pupils' work, the problems that arise, the results secured, methods of improving these, and all financial transactions. The emphasis throughout is upon learning by doing, upon experimentation, and upon the best utilization of all profitable experience.

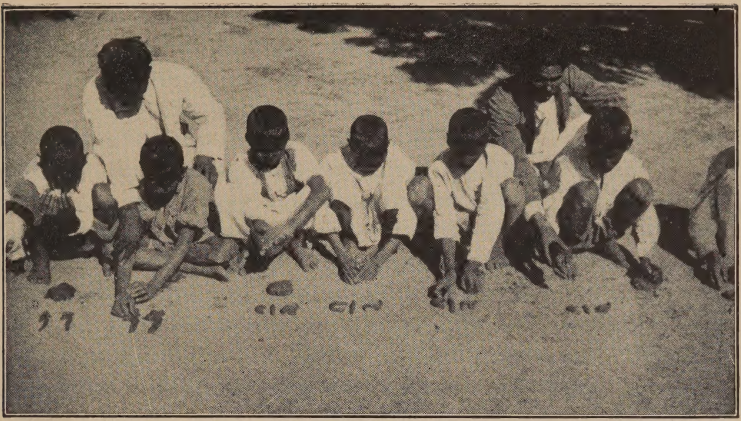

Plate V—Modeling Words and Sentences

Plate VI—Pupils at Work in Their Garden Plots

The same arrangements exist for the keeping of poultry, for dairying, and for tanning, weaving, dyeing, and carpentry. Each pupil selects one of these, in addition to agriculture; he buys his own materials, works them up under life conditions, learns how to keep tools in repair, and how to co-operate advantageously in the purchase and sale of the products.

Nor are the literary and appreciative sides of life neglected. Two evenings each week are devoted to the works of Shakespeare, Tagore, or other literary masters. The students also produce their own magazine, which is largely devoted to reporting their experiences and experiments. Music, dramatics, folk dances, social fellowship, and games are emphasized. Hygiene, sanitation, and disease prevention receive attention.

The students work for village reconstruction through the training of village scouts, who, under the guidance and inspiration of the institution and its students, seek to overcome the three great weaknesses of Bengal village life: the prevailing feeling of mutual distrust, the debilitating malarial fever, and the much more concrete damage wrought by great numbers of monkeys.

The principal of this school feels that the system of education in operation there is valuable because it emphasizes freedom, initiative, responsibility, and a natural combination of handwork and headwork, of culture and service.[15]

The Gurukula Kangri

Another type of indigenous institution which has attracted much attention and which has appealed to the imagination of devout Hindus is the Gurukula Kangri near Hardwar. It was founded by the Arya Samaj[16] in 1902, and is located at the foot of the Himalayas, where the sacred Ganges River bursts from the hills. Here in the heart of the forest is found a revival of the ancient forest asram, which is venerated and idealized by Hindus everywhere. It was in just such spots as this, far from the restless activities of men, that India's saints and philosophers found their inspiration.

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[15] L. K. Elmhirst, *An Educational Experiment.*

[16] The Arya Samaj, a reformed sect of Hinduism, was founded in 1875 by Dayananda Sarasvati. He denounced caste and idolatry; emphasized that there is one God and no other; that transmigration and Karma are the laws that govern life; and that forgiveness is impossible. The four Vedas are accepted as God's revelation and as containing all the truths of religion.

The primary aim of the Gurukula is to prepare and send forth preachers of the Vedic religion and of a culture in which the loftiest elements of Eastern and Western civilization are harmoniously blended. More specifically, it aims to revive the ancient practice and discipline of "Brahmacharya" for character development, to resuscitate the ancient Hindu culture and learning, to impart instruction in all branches of Sanskrit literature, along with the best in Occidental thought, and to build up and enrich Vedic living and ideals. The prospectus of the school states that the institution is

> trying in a humble way to do something for winning back for ancient classical Sanskrit literature the place that ought rightly to belong to it, as the source of all subsequent world literature. Also to carry to mankind the Vedic message it so sorely needs—the message of a self controlled, self denying, simple, spiritual mode of life, based upon co-operation and loving service.[17]

A boy enters the Gurukula at the age of seven or eight, when he takes a vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Parents must agree to let him stay until the course is completed, which takes at least sixteen years. The parents practically turn over the guardianship of their boys to the principal. They may visit their sons about once a month, but the boy is not allowed to visit his home, except under the most urgent and unusual circumstances. The purpose of this is "to protect him from the contaminating influences of the world, its distractions, restlessness and temptations, and to surround him by such influences and by such discipline and regulation of his life as will build up the habits and character aimed for."[18] Even in the long summer vacation, the pupils either remain in the Gurukula or go off on a pilgrimage or excursion with one of the teachers.

Discipline is strict and ascetic. The students wear the long saffron colored cotton robe of the religious orders and go barefoot in the coldest as well as the hottest weather. Living conditions and food are plain and simple. All are strict vegetarians. The school day begins early, and pupils also retire to rest early in the evening. The rising bell rings at 4 A.M. and pupils have half an hour of exercise, after which they bathe, dress, and gather for worship. The principal then speaks to them on some phase of religion, and all join in silent, individual prayer and meditation upon selected Sanskrit verses.

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[17] *Prospectus of the Gurukula Kangri, 1920*, p. 7.

[18] *Ibid.*

After the conclusion of the "sandhya" the occupants of each room gather about a small brazier and under the guidance of a leader perform the "Agnihotra," a ceremony sanctioned by the Vedas and widely esteemed in India. Twigs are placed in the brazier and clarified butter poured over them and ignited. The fire is maintained by continued libations and additions of fuel, and at intervals sugar and fragrant herbs and spices are thrown into the flames. Simultaneously Sanskrit verses are recited by the group in unison. These verses are also from the Vedas.[19]

Following this period of worship, light food is distributed, after which pupils have two hours of study. At 8:45 the morning meal is taken, at which a Sanskrit prayer is repeated. After the morning meal there is an intermission until school begins at 9:45. Except for the midday intermission and meal, school continues until 4:15. Hindi (vernacular) is the medium of instruction, and even the higher subjects are taught through this medium. It is believed that no education for young people can be satisfactory which is not given in their own vernacular. The official examination system is also opposed, on the grounds that it is pernicious and conducive to cramming.

Marked emphasis is given to Sanskrit and its literature. The school has several literary and debating societies which use Sanskrit as a medium, and by the time the pupils reach the age of eighteen or more they read, write, and speak this classical language fluently. English is taught as a secondary language from the sixth to the fourteenth year. Much time is also given to formal religious and moral instruction, reliance being placed upon the close association of teacher and pupil to make this effective. The traditional methods of teaching, such as reciting, question and answer, and verbal instruction by the teacher are used. Visitors to the school have been greatly impressed with the progress made in indigenous development. It has been said that boys, after spending ten years in this school, have reached the intermediate standard in most Indian colleges.

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[19] D. J. Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, p. 186.

From 4:15 to 4:45 in the afternoon, pupils are left to themselves, but following this interval, there are compulsory athletics, both Indian and Western. After an hour given to games, the pupils bathe, the Sandhya and Agnihotra are repeated as in the morning, an hour of study follows, and all except the very oldest are off to bed at nine.[20]

The development of character based upon Vedic ideas and ideals receives much attention. Among these ideals are purity of mind and body; simplicity of life; and reverence, meditation, and devotion. To secure these character results, the school relies first of all upon the influence of the teachers. These are picked men, some of them honorary workers and others receiving only their bare support. The principal has given his whole property to the school.

Since the boys are largely cut off from their families, their relationship with the teachers becomes very close and intimate, and every effort is made to keep the relationship helpful and harmonious. The feeling is also cultivated that all are members of the same family. The boys are taught to share their pleasures with their comrades and to seek no enjoyment in that which cannot be shared. Caste distinctions are not recognized—a great advance on popular Hindu thought.

Nature also has a part in shaping the thought, the culture, and the religious life of the school, and the surroundings have a large potential value in this respect. For, as of old, the soul of India is drawn toward nature and its beauties.

> Indians still delight to linger in reverent prayer in the softly lighted glades of the silent forest as in the hushed aisles of a cathedral not built with hands. . . . Amid such beautiful surroundings she still seeks a place of spiritual reconcilement, where the finite may approach the infinite; a meeting place between the soul of man and the soul of the universe.[21]

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[21] Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 73.

A Gurukula for Girls

A unique Gurukula has been established at Delhi for the education of Hindu girls. At present two hundred are in attendance. The principal states that, barring modifications necessitated by natural differences between boys and girls, the Kanya Gurukula has before it the same aims and is conducted on the same lines as the institution at Hardwar. Girls are admitted only on the condition that the parents give a solemn undertaking in no case to arrange or permit the marriage of their daughter before the age of sixteen.

The aims of this Gurukula have been stated as follows:

> [The Kanya Gurukula] aims at the regeneration of Indian womanhood through Brahmacharya discipline, salutary segregation, a healthy environment, a sound education, an eradication of evil customs (like early marriage), and the revival of Vedic spiritual culture. It purposes to make the girls fit to discharge their duties efficiently as custodians of national culture. The girls' education and discipline are regulated with a view to making them intelligent mothers, attractive wives and helpful companions to their husbands (rather than mere drudges of all work); wise and considerate daughters and sisters, efficient citizens, and patriotic Indians.[22]

All the teachers are women, and each class is supervised both in and out of school hours. There is a daily routine of religious duties, prayers, study, play, and sleep, which is punctually and rigorously enforced. A medical adviser attends regularly, giving medical aid and supervising the diet, hygiene, and exercises of the girls. The curriculum contains the usual school subjects taught in the vernacular with special emphasis upon India's ancient cultural heritage. It is so planned that at the conclusion of eight or nine years of work pupils will have a fair command of Hindi, an acquaintance with Sanskrit and the Hindi scriptures, considerable general information, a fair amount of culture, and feminine accomplishments such as music, cooking, sewing, and nursing.

These two Gurukulas do not stand alone of their kind in India. There are quite a number of others, the Arya Samaj reporting thirty-one under its direction,[23] but the two described are probably the best known and among the best attended.[24]

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[22] *Indian Social Reformer,* January 30, 1926.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL AT ADYAR, MADRAS

Another important indigenous institution is the National School at Adyar, Madras, which is closely associated with the National Movement and hence is largely opposed to the present official system of education. It has endeavored to discover by experimentation what constitutes a strong system of Indian education and the best methods of teaching it. It does not feel, however, that what is good in foreign educational method need be discarded; but rather that experimentation should be carried on in the realm of Indian life and Indian ideals.[25]

The school has about one hundred pupils, with a staff of sixteen teachers. Its aim is to provide a truly national education patterned in principles after the ancient system. The general social organization of the school is impressive. The students live in a little school village of ten cottages arranged in a quadrangle measuring about 75 x 150 feet. This village is located in the midst of shady trees so as to protect the students from excessive heat and glare. The cottages are inexpensively built, costing about Rs. 220 (£15) apiece. They consist of a single room 12 x 25 feet, with a four-foot veranda on all four sides. The floor is of clay tiles and the roof is of thatch made of cocoanut leaves. The walls are of bamboo mat screens up to six feet, but above this point there is only bamboo lattice work. Each cottage is intended to serve as a dormitory for six students. In front of each there is a garden which the boys plant and care for. The cottages are named after Indian heroes or saints such as Akbar, Sivaji, Tuka Ram, Shankaracharya.

This village is indicative of several principles which are emphasized by the school. The first is simplicity of life and living conditions. This applies not only to housing but to food and dress. Food is vegetarian and plain; dress is Indian in style and consists of a *dhoti* and a *kurta*, with a *banyan* added when the weather is colder. Equipment both in the cottages and in the school is kept to a minimum. Boys sit on rush mats on the ground with their books on low benches in front of them.

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[23] Lala Devi Chand, *Report of the Educational Work of the Arya Samaj.*

[24] In fact, some of these Gurukulas have relatively few students, an average attendance of 15 to 30 being not uncommon. A recent report of the Arya Samaj on this work states that these institutions are rather expensive, as the average cost per pupil per year works out at Rs. 152, which is comparatively greater than that of the colleges conducted by the Society.

[25] *Report of the Society for the Promotion of National Education, 1919,* p. 1.

Another emphasis is upon the value of fresh air. Students live almost entirely out of doors. Their sleeping quarters have three feet of open space all around the top of the room. Most of the classes are held out of doors. Even the industrial shops are thatched structures allowing plenty of air and light. The classes are held in a large grove of beautiful spreading trees and are isolated from each other by thick shrubs through which winding foot-paths lead from class to class.[26] Additional efforts are also made to keep pupils healthy and physically fit.

> A resident physician takes the height and weight of each boy once a month and gives a more complete examination every quarter. A few of the boys come from poor families and the effects of malnutrition have to be corrected. Games are played and a scout troop has been formed, but one does not get the impression that any great emphasis is placed upon athletics.[27]

Still another characteristic of the school is a "very definite ideal of sympathy and co-operation between the teacher and the taught."[28] The students know that a number of the teachers are working for a mere subsistence allowance and that their primary interest is in the school and its students. Severe discipline and repression are discouraged, and pupils are given responsibility for administering minor discipline. Definite efforts are made to have pupils and teachers co-operate for the best good of the school.

The use of the vernacular is emphasized. Tamil is the medium of instruction throughout the first eight classes, but English is taught from the third class as a second language.

One period each day is given to nature study, two of these each week being assigned to gardening. The boys are encouraged to keep pets in order to develop a fondness for animals.

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[26] Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 181. For the following facts I am indebted to this same source, pp. 178-84.

Weaving, dyeing, and carpentry are also a part of the school curriculum and students who intend giving up their studies after completing the tenth class are advised to specialize in some work that will be of use to them in after life. One such type of specialization is provided in the weaving and dyeing department. Under the guidance of two experts, this department provides a practical knowledge of the weaving of silk and of cotton cloth, dyeing, pattern designing, warping, bleaching, printing, and finishing. This department trains boys for a distinctly higher grade of work than most weaving schools, and the work is so conducted that while the pupil is learning the art of weaving and dyeing, he may at the same time learn to manage a small establishment of his own.

Indian hours are observed at the school. The boys get up between 5:30 and 6:00 o'clock. They bathe and wash their clothes, and at 7:00 they have light refreshments. Following this, there is roll-call and opening exercises, consisting of religious songs, recitation of *slokas*, and occasional addresses. From 7:15 to 10:00 there is class work followed by an intermission until 2:30, during which the mid-day meal is eaten at 11:30. Pupils spend the intermission in playing, resting, studying, and working in the garden or shops. Each spends the time according to his inclination. From 2:30 on, the time is given, for the most part, to handicrafts and to the lighter forms of intellectual work. School continues, with a short interval for tea, until 4:30. The early evening is devoted to games and sports, with bathing at 7:00 and the evening meal at 7:30. There is a short devotional meeting in the evening, and this is followed by reading, music, and social fellowship.

The Manual Training Institute at Dornakal

The Manual Training Institute at Dornakal was largely developed by the Bishop of Dornakal, the Rt. Rev. V. S. Azariah. The purpose of the school is to furnish an education for illiterate Christians (Malas or Madigas), so that they will become proficient in some industry and will be able to exert an influence in uplifting and helping their people. This aim involves, in addition to the necessary occupational knowledge and skill, the developing of a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect; the dignifying of labor and the combating of laziness; the cultivation of thrift and self-denial; and the inculcation of the ideal of service. The Bishop felt that "to combat laziness and a tendency to dependence," manual labor is essential, and a rule was therefore made that "no boy or girl should be admitted to the Institute who was not willing to contribute toward his or her support, either by money or labor."[29] Besides the regular industries, the pupils were encouraged to do the necessary work of the school, such as washing clothes, cleaning the premises, gathering firewood, drawing water, and making repairs. For these services they received financial credit toward the cost of their food. At first both the pupils and their parents objected to this, but steady persistence and the example which even the Bishop himself set them finally won the day.

About half of each day is given to regular literary school work, and the other half to vocational training. For the boys there is agriculture, gardening, weaving, carpentry, and leather work; for the girls, the occupations connected with the household, such as cooking, sewing, and drawn-thread work. An effort was made in the beginning to have each student try out the various trades over a period of three months and then make his choice. It was found, however, that care had to be taken to prevent the choosing of the industry involving the least work rather than that for which the student was best fitted.

Efforts are made to teach the trades on a plane which is an improvement over the present practices in the villages, providing that the improved machinery and processes are within the reach of the villagers. Efforts are also made to produce those things which are marketable in the villages, and students have the responsibility for deciding what they shall produce, for carrying their projects through to successful conclusions, and for marketing them advantageously. All money that the students make after contributing something toward the cost of their food and their education goes toward the purchase of the necessary equipment to set themselves up as artisans when their training is finished. Students are encouraged to participate in social service, and it is hoped that after returning to the villages, they will give some of their spare time to helping and instructing the people of their community. The hope is that each such family will be a center of influence and uplift and that gradually a body of self-supporting, community-serving Christian workers will be developed.

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The school is unique in that boys and girls attend the same school right up to the eighth standard. The Bishop maintains that this is the only way to insure a healthy moral tone. All the instruction is given in Telugu, no English being taught. The usual government curriculum is followed in the school, but efforts have been made to improve the methods of teaching. D. J. Fleming, in his *Building With India*, says of this school:

> Because of the manual work during the first five years, the pupils lose one year compared with those who confine themselves to literary studies. But otherwise it has been a gain, for the alternation of hand work and study is more interesting to the children, and the Dornakal boys are said to stand at the top of the vernacular middle schools to which they go.[30]

Health, hygiene, and sanitation are taught by practical methods; the pupils learn to protect themselves and their communities from disease by chlorinating the water, screening their food, taking prophylactic doses of quinine, and inoculating against disease when necessary. The Bishop encourages pupils to make the village schools centers of service in these matters.

Singing, religious instruction, and worship also receive much attention, as is shown in the following program for a typical day: 5:00 A.M., rising bell and short prayer; 5:30, drill and exercise; 6:00 to 9:00, manual work; from 9:00 to 10:00, breakfast and private Bible reading; between 10:00 and 1:00, the senior pupils continue their manual occupations, while the junior pupils have class work in the school. At 1:00, the pupils have their midday meal, and this is followed by rest until 2:00. From 2:00 to 2:45, there is instruction in the Scriptures, and following this, the seniors have class work until 5:00, while from 3:30 to 5:00 the juniors have manual work. The hour between 5:00 and 6:00 is given to games. At 6:30 the evening meal is served, and following this there is an hour of study. All are in bed by 9:00 o'clock. This schedule reveals a very full day, which probably does not allow enough sleep for the younger pupils, but the work, rest, and study periods are well balanced, and the work is varied and well organized.

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[30] p. 58.

Statements of Indian Leaders

While other indigenous institutions could easily be described, enough has been said to indicate the general nature of these schools. It will therefore be well, at this point, to turn to the statements of certain Indian leaders concerning the National Education program and what it involves. Lala Lajpat Rai states that the only effort which in his judgment was truly national was that made by the National Council of Education in Bengal under the impetus of the Swadeshi and the Boycott:

> The scheme of the National Council was free from the sectarian tinge of the Upper India movements; it took ample cognizance of the economic needs of the country as a whole, and it frankly recognized the necessity of ignoring the official University curriculum on the one hand and of state aid on the other. It aimed at national consolidation and national independence. . . . It failed as it was bound to do, because it came into conflict with the State.[31]

Sir M. Visvesvaraya includes the following in an Indianization program:

> (*a*) A minimum of six years of compulsory general education and a further period of 2 to 4 years vocational training for every boy and girl; due attention paid to games and physical development and to moral discipline.
>
> (*b*) Training in civics and thrift; in love and pride of country; in a spirit of unselfish service and of responsibility for the public good.
>
> (*c*) Use of a common language in every province and of *English* as the lingua franca.

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[31] *The Problems of National Education in India,* pp. 24, 25.

(*d*) Organized effort to eradicate unhealthy ideals and practices known to handicap the Indian; to standardize existing good traits, practices, and traditions and to protect them from disuse or decay.

(*e*) Cultivation of a spirit of initiative; of a high sense of self-respect and personal honor; of closer association and of co-operation for the promotion of essential objects of interest, common to large areas of the country and to India as a whole.

(*f*) Adult education in institutions and by lectures and cinemas; acquisition of business discipline and the usages of civilization; travel among all classes of people.

(*g*) Equip people with general knowledge of the conditions of success; with skill in some profession or trade to enable them to earn a living and with sufficient character and discipline to harmonize human relations and to promote co-operative effort.

(*h*) Equip all classes of the people with correct ideals and objectives to work for, so that individual and local effort may be in consonance with national aims and aspirations. Also training all leading men and women to take part in international life and intercourse.[32]

B. Animananda, who conducts the Boys' Own Home in Calcutta and who was formerly associated with Dr. Tagore, emphasizes the following aims and principles of national education:

(*a*) Revival of the ancient Aryan ideal of education, when every boy was as a child to the Guru.

(*b*) To bring up pupils in the fear and love of God. Emphasis upon meditation and worship.

(*c*) To give special attention to the training of the will and the development of character. Moral culture is developed by personal example, incidental advice and instruction, by giving the boys a responsible share in the government of the school and inspiring them to work for the good of the community.

(*d*) To uphold all lawful authority, human and divine.

(*e*) To uphold the dignity of manual labor. Pupils co-operate by keeping their rooms and premises clean and should have an hour's work each day learning either carpentry, spinning, or weaving.

(*f*) So to teach boys that in time they may be able to do without the help of the teacher. Pupils are guided to find the truth for themselves; by observation, experiment, and suggestive questions.

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[32] *Reconstructing India*, pp. 284-86.

(*g*) To co-operate with the homes of the pupils in securing the best educational and character results. This is largely done through conferences and reports.[33]

GENERAL SUMMARY

By way of summary, it may be said that the national education movement, in one form or another, has extended over a period of many years, and this persistence and vitality indicate something of the strong feeling which exists in India for a more indigenous type of education.[34] While the different sectarian groups founded institutions as protests against the Government system, most of these institutions sooner or later conformed to the Government system more than they differed from it. Like the Government, they started at the top, with the unfounded hope that education would filter down to the masses. Affiliation with the University and the influence exerted by it with reference to curriculum, examinations, and degrees, together with the ordinary human tendency to follow the path of least resistance, brought about further conformity with the Government system. The National phases of these schools are largely to be found in their Indian administration and financial independence from Government, and in their emphasis upon religion and the ancient languages and classics, which, however, have merely been added to the official curriculum. No truly national system of education has been developed by them, but rather a narrow sectarianism and an attitude prejudicial to progress and to social solidarity among the various peoples of India.[35]

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[33] "The Boys' Own Home," *The Guardian*, Dec. 24, 1925.

[34] The most persistent form has been the tols, pathshalas and maktabs, associated with places of worship. Despite the meagre curriculum and the many pedagogical weaknesses of these schools, the last quinquennial report shows that there are about 38,000 of them. In the Punjab alone, of schools for boys and girls, there were over 4,500. See *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1923-24*, Appendix I. The people are attracted to these schools largely because of the religious emphasis, and this fact must be taken into account in the development of any really national system of education.

[35] A significant thing about the movement for national education has been its support by a considerable number of those who have been educated in official schools. Either due to reaction from a type of education too foreign in administration and content, or to a failure in securing the type of employment desired, or to a rapidly developing nationalism, they have been outspoken

The political aspect of the national education movement, while achieving considerable success in its publicity and in its boycott activities, was a great disappointment on its constructive side. It did, however, arouse Government and many educators to a fresh realization of the strength of Indian feeling and the great need for a more indigenous type of education.

The most promising aspect of the national education movement is the experimental schools. Some of these have secured remarkable results and are undoubtedly pointing the way to a valuable type of education which will be truly Indian and which will utilize India's valuable racial heritage without sacrificing the riches of Western culture. While in some of these schools there is undoubtedly an over-emphasis upon the past and not enough utilization of the educational values of the present, both native and foreign, this will probably right itself in time, for only a minority are desirous of turning the clock backward or of attempting to live outside the main current of the world's cultural and economic progress. The hope of the future lies in the utilization of all the valuable elements of India's inheritance, supplemented and co-ordinated with the best that other parts of the world have to offer. As a sympathetic observer of India has well said:

> I see India standing at the cross-roads, one leading abruptly away from the natural line of her development (slavish imitation of the West); the other turning with equal abruptness back from it in the direction of the past. The pursuit of the former must lead to the loss of her own individuality; to a sterilization of her particular genius—must leave her, in short, a mere mimic of other peoples, a mummer without a soul. Pursuit of the other can only lead her away from progress and towards stagnation and must disable her from assuming her rightful place amongst the progressive nations of the world. There must be surely a middle way between these two extremes, along which India may travel, without, on the one hand, rejecting the gift of learning—particularly the splendid achievements in the domain of science—which the West has to offer her, or, on the other hand, cutting off the sap which she derives from her own intellectual soil.[36]

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in their condemnation of existing official institutions and zealous for an education truly national in type and in control.

[36] Address by the Earl of Ronaldshay, Fourth Annual Meeting of the Indian Students' Union, London, Feb. 12, 1924.

A study of the indigenous schools, together with the type of education advocated by national leaders, reveals certain ideals and principles largely common to all and held in high regard by a very large number of Indians. Most of these ideals and principles arise out of the ancient system of education and out of the Indian religious and philosophical attitudes toward life, though in many cases they have been modified by and adapted to modern conditions. It is probably not an exaggerated point of view to predict that the future education of India will be vitally influenced by these two educational forces. India will not and should not give up the vital principles and ideals of her ancient system; yet to make these most effective in present-day conditions, they must be carefully and critically selected, and the fullest use made of all that modern psychology and pedagogical science have to contribute. This will require not only intellectual ability, breadth of view, insight, and vision of a high order, but also courage—courage to discard from one's own tradition all that hinders the fullest development and growth of the child and to utilize only the best and most fruitful processes, no matter from what source they may come.

Inferences for Curriculum-Making

The following principles may be deduced from the foregoing study of the national education movement, as having preeminent value in curriculum construction: (1) the emphasis upon the building of character and the place of religion in the educational process; (2) great attention given to Indian culture and ideals, with extensive utilization of Indian music, drama, art, and literature; (3) the use of the vernacular; (4) the development of an appreciative attitude toward nature; (5) the emphasis upon simplicity of living, open-air classes, outdoor activity, and personal health and cleanliness; (6) the relating of education to Indian conditions as seen in the attention paid to village sanitation, to vocational guidance and training, and to inculcating a belief in the dignity of labor; (7) the development of patriotism and citizenship; (8) the increased attention given to the needs of children, together with increased opportunities for their development, such as greater freedom, increased stimulus to activity and creativeness, greater responsibility, encouragement of thinking, learning by doing, utilizing and testing each solution, and closer relationship between pupil and teacher, with more individual instruction and guidance.

Opposed to these outstanding and attractive elements of strength, we observe some common weaknesses and shortcomings which should be noted to the end that they may be avoided in curriculum construction: (1) a lack of social emphasis, the pupils often living apart from the world and from society; (2) lack of originality and constructiveness with regard to the course of study and the methods of teaching; (3) a real danger of building up a dual attitude toward education, of breaking it up into separate compartments, especially where Eastern and Western systems of education are carried on side by side, where literary and vocational phases of education are kept separate, where girls are neglected, or where any separation exists which might prevent that vital integration of experiences necessary to effective education; (4) the danger of a narrow conception of some of the great goals for which education should strive, as, for example, a narrow nationalism able to see only one's own denominational group, one's own localized culture, one's own language, caste, or even country; (5) the danger of a narrow conception of discipline, making it too strict, negative, empirical, and mechanical; (6) the possible weakness involved in being too exclusively rooted in the past, too enamoured of an ancient cultural type, too negative, and too self-satisfied, and hence divorced from the progressive, dynamic educational developments of the present; (7) and finally the danger of associating religious values with acquiescence in outward forms rather than with growth in religious experience, moral development, and service.

It is obvious that India has a real contribution to make to educational philosophy and procedure, but it is equally obvious that such contribution will be effective only to the extent that it takes into account and utilizes the results of the scientific study and educational experimentation of the West. It is most significant that India's greatest emphasis in trying to improve the present system of education has been concerned with the philosophy and the underlying principles of education rather than with the exact scientific side or with the field of administration and method.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN RURAL EDUCATION

EARLY INTEREST IN EDUCATION

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES have been active in the work of education almost since their first arrival in India. A number of the early missionaries gave considerable time and effort to the task of education, believing that thereby they could teach Christian ideals and principles most effectively. In fact, it has been said that "it would be possible to give a very nearly complete account of the history of Western education in India by writing the biographies of one or two Scottish missionaries. To tell the story of the life work of Alexander Duff and William Miller would necessitate the discussion of much of the history of Western education in India."[1] Add to this the contributions of missionaries like Wilson of Bombay, the Ewing brothers in Lahore and Allahabad, Isabella Thoburn at Lucknow, besides many others in less well known institutions, and you have an imposing amount of substantial and influential educational work.

The mere statistics of mission institutions and the number of pupils attending them are impressive. Since missionaries began, as did Government, mainly with higher institutions of learning, the mission colleges and secondary schools have for years occupied unique positions of influence.

The efforts of missionaries on behalf of neglected groups of people have also been outstanding. The first schools for women in all India were started by them, in direct opposition to public opinion and to native religious teaching,[2] and they also were pioneers in their efforts in behalf of the depressed and criminal classes—in many ways a work more difficult and discouraging than any thus far described.

As the years have passed, the scope of missionary education has been enlarged, not only in the extent of territory covered and the number of people affected, but also in a greatly broadened conception of the aims of such education. In the beginning, as was natural, the evangelistic appeal and the leavening influence of Christian education were stressed; but as Christian communities developed, it was found necessary to add education for the general development of the members of these communities.

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[1] *Christian Education in Africa and the East,* p. 2.

[2] Fleming, *Building with India,* p. 122.

A number of factors, however, have tended to modify the amount and the character of missionary education, such as the large extension of the Government system of education, the growth of nationalism, the increasing influence and capacity of Indian Christian leaders, and, in some instances, the decreasing financial support from the Home Societies. As a result, many missions feel that their educational contribution in the future must be a relatively smaller share in the total educational effort of the country. This seems inevitable as progress is made toward universal education, and the question therefore arises as to the place of the educational work of missions in the future. Certainly the present duplication of effort should be eliminated, and such co-operation encouraged as will lead to strong, efficient institutions, strategically located, even if this should mean a considerable reduction in the number of mission schools. In other words, the future contribution of missionary education in India should be one of quality rather than of quantity.[3]

The Unique Contribution of Christian Education

This brings up the fundamental question of the uniqueness of the aims and ideals of Christian education. Exactly what is its differentiating quality? Wherein does its unique contribution lie?

Among the great teachings of Jesus Christ was his emphasis upon the worth of the human soul, the sacredness of personality. No matter how low an individual had sunk in the social scale—sinner, outcaste, leper—Christ recognized his possibilities and saw clearly what he might become. Moreover, He saw how those possibilities might become realities, how the true personality might actually be developed—by inspiring faith and hope in the individual himself, by encouraging him to start anew, and by providing him with freedom, inspiration, opportunity, responsibility, and fellowship. The required faith was in the conviction that God loved and cared for him, that he was a real child of God. The required hope was to be found in the fact that in love of and fellowship with God and in participation with His purposes, true life was to be found. The inspiration was in Christ's leadership and in His abiding presence. The opportunity and the responsibility lay in the possibility of the individual's sharing in the bringing to pass of the Kingdom or Democracy of God on earth.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

In these statements are to be found the great educational ideals and aims on which Christian education should be developed. The infinite worth of the child and his personality; the great possibilities for the child's growth and development; the influence of a stimulating environment and of social interaction; the necessity for freedom of choice and of bearing responsibility for such choice; the place of intelligent guidance, fellowship, and co-operation; and, finally, valuable individual and social aims for directing the whole educational process—these and nothing less than these should be the aims of Christian schools. For schools motivated by such aims there will always be a need in any country.

That Christian educators see these aims as the preëminent functions of missionary education is abundantly testified in their utterances on education problems.[4]

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION

One may as well admit quite frankly, however, that much of the educational work of missions has fallen short of these ideals. While the motive has been sound and worthy, the methods used have often failed to bring about the desired ends.

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[4] See P. O. Philip, "These Little Ones," *Village Teachers' Journal,* March, 1926; see also L. C. Kitchen, *An Experiment in Rural Education in Bengal,* Reprint presented to Bengal Orissa Baptist Missionary Conference; and Fleming, *Building with India,* pp. 144-45.

"As Christians we are out for development of Christian character and service, and we are all finding out that learning is by activity and experience; that Christian character cannot be imparted as an item of subject matter. . . . Christian characteristics . . . must be stimulated to expression in life throughout all the activities of the classroom and school life, in the service of the community."—Statement by twenty-six delegates to Special Course, Moga, 1923.

Many mission schools have been satisfied with conforming to the existing system and have put the remarks of inspectors and examination results above the development of the pupils. Moreover, much missionary education has been foreign in character and therefore justly deserves the same criticisms that have been passed upon the Government system.

The shortcomings of missionary education have been especially evident in the mission primary schools in the villages, for, in addition to the handicaps of inertia, conformity, and lack of funds, they have had to contend with irregular and part-time attendance, elimination and retardation, untrained teachers, poor buildings and equipment, inadequate supervision, and a considerable relapse into illiteracy.

An illustration of just how poor some of the outlying rural schools can be is shown in the following description:

> We have just visited nine *far-out* schools. It is about the most discouraging thing a mortal man can do. The records were fine, attendance perfect for weeks at a time, including Saturdays and Sundays! There was no mistake in these, for were they not all newly written up in fresh ink, especially for our visit? Nearly all the teachers were low-grade workers. It was unusual to find any pupil beyond the first pages of the primer; most seemed to be learning the alphabet "for ever." Arithmetic occasionally reached multiplication by four, although addition was very uncertain. Bible stories and singing reached a higher level . . . but altogether the village school seemed only a name.[5]

THE VILLAGE EDUCATION COMMISSION

The general dissatisfaction with these conditions led eventually to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry by the International Missionary Council.[6] The report which the Commission published in 1920 was the first thorough study of village education and of its relationships, and the proposals suggested for the improvement of rural schools attracted wide attention. The various Provincial Christian Councils, Missions, and church organizations considered it and passed resolutions as to immediate improvements and advance work which they thought should be undertaken. The National Christian Council did all that it could to stimulate this interest and offered its services in carrying out the suggestions made by the Commission. Indian leaders and government officials also studied the recommendations carefully. Thus a great stimulus was given to rural education, and the report led to further thought, experimentation, and renewed effort to extend and improve the education provided for village people.

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[5] Fraser et al., *Village Education in India, The Report of a Commission of Inquiry*, pp. 33-34.

[6] The personnel of the Commission was as follows: Rev. A. G. Fraser, M.A. (Trinity College, Kandy, and Achimota), Chairman; Prof. D. J. Fleming, Ph.D. (Union Seminary); Miss M. M. Allan (Cambridge); J. H. MacLean, M.A., and K. T. Paul, O.B.E. The purpose of the Commission was to make "a broad survey of the educational needs of Indian villages; the gathering of the fruits of the experience of Indian workers, missionaries, government officials, and leaders of public life in India and of educators in the other countries visited (United States, Japan, the Philippines), and in the light of this experience and of the fresh study of present conditions, to advise the

The members of the Commission did not attempt to make an intensive, technical educational survey. They aimed rather at determining what were the general conditions and needs of the village people for whom Missions were responsible, what was the present situation with regard to their education, what were the outstanding weaknesses and hindrances, and what was involved in a comprehensive program of advance. In connection with this last point, they dealt with problems of administration, finance, co-operation with Government, the need for buildings, equipment, and books, the training of teachers, supervision, and after care. They also considered matters of physical welfare, economic improvement, and public health. As to types of schools they discussed the village primary school, the vocational middle school, the school for girls, and the school as a community center.

Since our study is concerned with curriculum objectives, our discussion of the Commission's proposals will be largely confined to this phase of the Report.[7]

As to the village primary school the Commission stated:

> If the ideal of a school within reach of every village child is to be attained in any reasonable time, that school must continue to be of the very simplest character, giving to the pupil only the tools that he

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missionary societies at home how they may make their largest and best contribution to the advancement of the Kingdom of God in India."—*Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

[7] The following is taken from Fraser, et al., *Village Education in India, The Report of a Commission of Inquiry,* pp. 29-32, 92-96, 69.

needs and asking from the teacher only that knowledge and skill with which his own education and training may reasonably be expected to have equipped him.

We propose, therefore, that the child enter the primary school at the age of about five and a half years and remain for four or five years. The curriculum will include reading, writing and arithmetic, nature study, handwork and music, with attention to such physical exercises and games as are suited to young children. All instruction will be in the vernacular and when the child leaves this school he will be expected to be able to read a simple letter, to write the same, to make calculations relative to ordinary bazaar operations, and to answer simple questions with regard to the habits and other characteristics of the plants, birds, and beasts with which his daily life may familiarize him.

Story and song are invaluable channels of education and should form as large an element of the school life as they do of national life. . . . The Bible stories lend themselves so well to rhythmic and dramatic treatment. . . . Of music in the primary school it is very difficult to write, but we feel strongly that the music of a people is a heritage that must not be dissociated from its schools. . . . And with the songs may be associated the games, which in the primary stages should form a large part of the physical exercise.

In connection with *Nature Study* the provision of a small school garden, where water and land are alike available, is a great help as lending a practical side to this stage. We are not advocating "teaching agriculture," but only sharing with the child operations familiar to him in his home life. The gardens are helpful, too, as mitigating in some measure against the attitude of the peasant to manual work. . . . It is very necessary in India to link the dignity of manual labor with the school from the very beginning, but the formal teaching of agriculture belongs to a later stage.

The question may be asked here: How does this school differ from that now commonly in existence? In answer, it cannot be too clearly stated that *it is not change in the curriculum in this early stage that is going to affect the efficiency of the school* or the length of the school attendance, but the ability and skill of the teaching staff.

On the teacher to be evolved will fall the responsibility to see to it that all the subjects mentioned are taken out of the deadening routine into which they have so largely fallen, "linking them" to the surrounding environment and teaching them by the best methods.

[It was recommended that these teachers be young men recruited] from the villages, with village interests and with several years' in-

> struction in some handicraft, besides a good grasp of at least the elements of a literary education.
>
> Normal training must be of the simplest character. Only such educational theory should be taught as can be learned from intelligent discussion of the practical teaching which the student sees or himself carries out. School practice and discussion of modern educational methods will occupy the greater part of the time. . . . The great things to be called forth in the student are his ingenuity and adaptability. . . . The course should include in addition to the simple introduction in the methods of teaching, the 3 R's, nature study and simple hygiene, with the handicraft already acquired in the middle school and with the addition where feasible of games, drawing and music. That is to say, there will be emphasis on professional as against academic work. [Also the first year after training is to be] regarded as a probationary year under supervision.

As to the education of girls, the Commission stated:

> The village day school will generally be coeducational. The bright intelligence of many of these little girls in the village schools is most marked and full of promise, if the proper teacher can be secured. . . . Little differentiation (in the curriculum) seems to be necessary. . . . Specialization on her home duties so early seems undesirable, while she shows herself quite as fit as the boy to meet the requirements with regard to the three R's. . . . The school day more especially for the girl, should be short. . . . The girl returns daily to the home, where many duties await her and while these rightly constitute a valuable part of her education, they also tax her energies. The problem of the education of the girl in the village school then, is not especially one of curriculum. The most urgent matters are its wider extension and the securing of a better type of teacher.

EVALUATION OF THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission rightly lays emphasis upon making the village schools as simple as possible. However, its further comments on this subject indicate that its idea of simplification is to "give the pupil only the tools he needs"—formal subjects of study such as the three R's, nature study, handwork, music, and physical exercises. This point is re-emphasized in their statement of ultimate aims, which are all given in terms of formal skills and of the ability to answer questions on nature study. The point of view is clearly seen in the statement, "It cannot be too clearly stated that it is not change in the curriculum in this early stage that is going to affect the efficiency of the school. . . ."

The question which at once arises, is how the work of the village school has been simplified. Certainly it has not been simplified for the child, for the same school procedure is maintained. Also the same type of curriculum consisting of logically organized information, largely apart from the child's experience and interests, is retained. In fact, additional formal subjects of study have been added beyond the code requirements. It is true that there is evidence of the simplification of objectives, when the child is "expected to be able to read a simple letter, to write the same, to make calculations relative to ordinary bazaar operations," and to answer simple questions about nature at the end of the four-year course. Here, however, the expected outcome seems to be pitched very low, for surely larger results than these should be realized in four years. Moreover, these objectives include nothing in the way of attitudes, ideals, character, community service, or any wider outlook than that of the village itself. If the child leaves the school at the end of his course with only this equipment, the world outside of his village is practically a closed book to him. Real simplification for the child necessarily involves great changes in the nature of the curriculum, in classroom environment and procedure, and in the methods of teaching.

The Commission lays greatest stress upon the position and skill of the teacher. All will agree that well trained teachers of high character are essential to the largest success of any system of education. However, to attach exclusive importance to the teacher seems a mistake. The curriculum should also be considered as of prime importance. Even the best teacher would have a difficult time bringing about the development of his pupils if he had no other intellectual food to offer them than the dried, husk-like, logically organized subject matter of the official curriculum. Good food is necessary, as well as someone to prepare and serve it.

While the Commission sought to enrich the ordinary village school curriculum by adding handwork and subjects like music, stories, and nature study, and while it emphasized the larger use of environmental materials and of Indian culture, which had been almost completely neglected, these added subjects were unfortunately thought of as separate entities and not as vital, natural expressions of life. Like the three R's, they were apart from the child. Instead of handwork arising out of the pupil's desire to make something, the emphasis was upon mere manipulative skill. Practical work, including gardening, was stressed because of "sharing with the child operations familiar to him in his home life" and because of teaching the dignity of labor. In the Commission's proposed organization, the emphasis was upon subjects of study rather than upon the pupils' experiences, purposes, and problems, upon utilizing traditional school procedure and trying to add to this some closer relation to the community and to India's heritage. It exalted the teacher but failed to realize the central place of the child in the educational process.

The Commission's position that an industrialized curriculum and the "teaching of agriculture" on a trade basis have no place at this stage of a child's life is thoroughly sound. Along with this belief, there should be more outspoken criticism of child labor, and constant attempts should be made to educate the public regarding the danger to the health of the child of long continued or heavy labor. There is much to be said for home and field projects as part of the child's education and development, but these should be well within his strength, of short duration, and guided to educational ends. The "home project" idea embodies a desirable approach and procedure in this matter. For the present it is doubtless necessary to regulate the hours of school sessions and the length of the school year with reference to the villager's economic advantage; but gradually the principle should be built up that the child is the important factor,—not a few more annas earned or saved. There are even now sources from which such money can be saved for the family—sources which are not so costly as securing them at the expense of the child's health and education.

The Commission's emphasis upon education for girls is rightly placed, and the proposal that they be educated in primary schools along with the boys is to be heartily approved. The stressing of adult education, the training of teachers, and constructive supervision are also to be commended.

The Proposed Vocational Middle School

The vocational middle school has been called the outstanding contribution of the report of the Village Education Commission, the keystone of their arch of educational reform. The idea for this type of school was inspired chiefly by the success of Hampton Institute and Tuskegee. It was felt that since these institutions had done so much for the character, outlook, and economic improvement of their students, similar schools in India, if adapted to environmental conditions, might do the same for the villager. The Commission stated its views as follows:

> The great need of the people is industrial training (including cultivation); partly for the development of their country but far more urgently for their own self-development. It is true that we must train their capacity to make a livelihood, but it is far more urgent to train their capacity for life. . . . The real wealth of a nation does not consist in its material development but in the true well-being and happiness of its men and women. . . . No literary curriculum will do this; no borrowed culture can achieve it. The highest kind of culture . . . must be within the reach of any man who can use it, but the great need of the rural people is a vocational middle school, making the village boy into a man and a workman. Such a school . . . must mean not merely efficiency (although it must mean that), but character; not productiveness only, but personality. . . . For the missionary face to face with the problem of illiteracy in the mass movement areas, *the great hope today is the cordial acceptance of the faith in labor as a moral and educational* force and in combined effort to raise the level of the people by a practical education, which will fit them for life. This, we submit, is the function of the vocational middle school.[8]

Such a school must give both literary and industrial training so related and co-ordinated that they are a reflection of life and its interests.

The industrial part of the curriculum will naturally vary according to the locality. The industries chosen "should generally be related to the indigenous products and to the hereditary proclivities of the locality. . . . In a land where about 80 per cent of the population are engaged directly or indirectly in agriculture it is obvious that this will frequently be the first industry introduced." The type of work to be undertaken the Commission thought to be well defined in a resolution of the Mass Movement Committee of the United Provinces:

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 32, 45, 46, 51, 52.

> In this school there should be given a good vernacular training combined with practical work in agriculture and subsidiary and supplementary industries. Sufficient land should be in sight to equal a number of average family holdings, on each of which should be established a group of youths as a family. Each group should cultivate its plot and gain a considerable part of its living from it. This cultivation should be under the detailed supervision of a skilled agriculturalist and should be done by improved but simple methods. In connection with each group and plot the necessary animals for cultivation and the consumption of fodder should be provided and maintained, so as to give practical training in the care of stock, their products and the use of fertilizers. Instruction at every point should be closely allied with the doing of the thing.[9]

Where the pupils take up agriculture chiefly, it is well to teach some simple supplementary industry, as the villager has leisure at certain seasons of the year for home crafts by means of which he can supplement his income.

Concerning the general method of these schools it was stated that during the first two years pupils should be allowed to try various trades in order to find out their preferences, and when this was ascertained, the chosen trade should be taught in such a way as to secure the maximum of educational value. It should also be kept, as far as possible, close to actual trade conditions. It should never be forgotten, however, that "It is the development of the person through the trade, rather than a development of the trade through the person which is sought. The primary object is not goods but goodness; not profit but personality."

Concerning the academic curriculum, the following statement was made:

> The studies on the academic side in classes IV or V to VIII inclusive (which comprise the school) must be simple but not superficial. . . . The standard will be roughly that of the present middle school

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[9] *The Harvest Field,* XI (New Series), 149.

> but in the curriculum certain subjects preparing for *community service* should be substituted. Thus to arithmetic, vernacular reading and writing and simple instruction upon the trade or craft followed, will be added English, sanitation and hygiene. Oral lessons on local geography may be included. On the *recreational side* a very liberal use should be made of general information and talks, illustrated if possible by the lantern.[10]

The Commission stated that English should be taught as a second language by the direct method, having as its aim the understanding of English rather than fluency in speaking it. At first the greatest emphasis should be given to pronunciation and understanding, but in the higher classes more time should be given to reading and writing in English.

Concerning religious instruction, the Commission had the following to say:

> As to religious instruction it should be given in every class with special reference to neighborhood activities and social service. This type of school will miss its very *raison d'être* if it fails to inspire its pupils with a spirit of service. . . . Each boy or girl must leave school filled with a love for his own people and a desire to serve them. The whole atmosphere of the school (which will be a residential one) should be Indian; it should be simple and healthful and all that is good in the village customs should be most carefully preserved. To such boys and girls so prepared must we look for the salvation of the Indian village spiritually, mentally, morally, and economically. . . . The foundation of this work will be laid in their increasing knowledge of Jesus Christ and his life of ministry and this (like all their work) will be practical, so that in religion too, they will learn by doing. What this means in terms of staff is obvious.

The Commission laid great stress upon an adequate and qualified staff for these schools, upon constructive supervision, upon the keeping of careful records, and upon systematic after care of the pupils. For pupils able to proceed further with their education, the high school and college, further industrial and agricultural training, and the training for teachers are possible.

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[10] This and the following are taken from Fraser et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

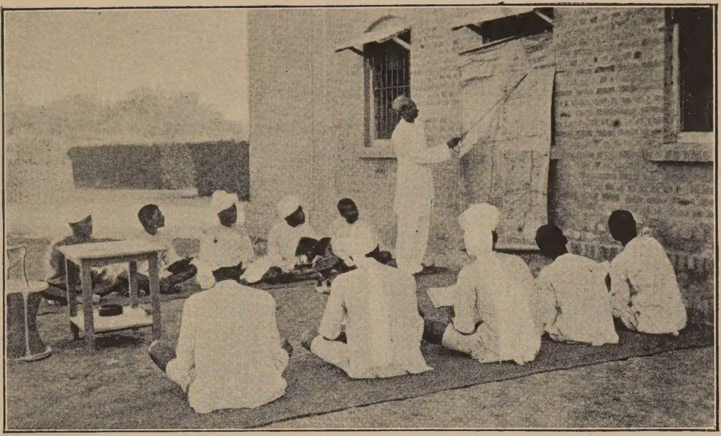

Plate VII—An Out-of-Doors Discussion Group in Religious Education

Plate VIII—A Class of Girls in a Mission School

For girls a separate but similar residential school was recommended. The industries were to be those associated with the village home and with gardening. On the academic side (besides the regular subjects), emphasis was put upon a wider encouragement of music, drawing, and Indian dances and games. Simplicity of living conditions was commended and a form of administration, such as the "cottage system," utilized, whereby the girls might be given responsibility and experience in looking after the home.

A conspicuous feature of the proposed vocational middle school is the possibility of self support. Pupils are to be credited with the profit of their labors and so made to feel that they are contributing to their own support. It was recommended that pupils keep accounts and that the contribution expected toward the cost of the pupil's education should be reasonable. Saving should also be encouraged in the hope that pupils might have enough money at the completion of their course to start their farming or village trade operations on an independent basis.

Evaluation of the Proposed Vocational Middle School

There are obviously many attractive principles in the type of school just described, but after a careful study of the Commission's proposals it is believed that the vocational middle school is not a fully co-ordinated institution, not a thoroughly unified whole. Its nature is a dual one. Emphasis is placed upon industrial training, but along with this, a certain number of hours each day are to be given to academic studies. The one is not a natural outgrowth of the other, nor does it demand the use of the other. There seems to be little relationship between the classroom work and the agricultural or trade work. Indeed, even in the minds of missionary educationists, there existed considerable confusion after the publication of the report. Some felt certain that the proposed school was primarily an industrial one and that vocational efficiency was the objective; others were convinced that the "making of men" was the primary aim. Ultimately a group of Christian educators assembled at Moga and issued a statement in which they sought to clarify the principles and aims of the vocational middle school. They suggested, that its name be changed to the community middle school, so as to do away with the confusion arising from the use of the word "vocational."[11]

Not only was the dual organization an educational weakness but there was considerable feeling that boys of only ten or eleven years of age were not sufficiently developed to undertake serious vocational education and were not likely at that age to know their aptitudes or be able to decide what work they wished to follow. The Commission's suggestion that the first two years be given to a testing out of various trades in order to determine preference gives rise to the question as to whether the remaining two years of the course, with only part time for industrial work, are sufficient to provide the necessary training. Furthermore, there has been considerable experience in India to show that dual schools (usually under the direction of competent artisans with little knowledge of educational philosophy and method), while successful with regard to industrial production, have not been successful on the educational side; and there is a growing conviction that the boys' or girls' general education should be completed before they enter an industrial school. This would mean that the industrial school should devote itself to trade teaching, to preparing boys and girls for specific occupations.[12]

Further weaknesses in the proposed vocational middle school are the same as those which characterized the village primary school. These are the organization of the curriculum around subjects of study rather than around the child, the danger of an overloaded course of study, adult domination, and the neglect of the world outside of the narrow environment of the village.

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[11] This development will be discussed later.

[12] The following statement from *Industrial Education in India, Report of a Conference*, Allahabad, March 25-29, 1924, emphasizes these separate functions: "Granted that industrial training is taken to mean training for the vocation of industry, it cannot begin until the pupil has reached an age at which he will readily think of life occupation and adjust himself to undergoing a training, which has as its conscious end the entry into a life of occupation. Moreover he must be of an age at which study of industrial processes is intellectually possible. [This was put at 13 or 14 years.] If this [age] is generally accepted, the clash which is sometimes felt to exist between the Industrial School and the Community Middle School is an illusion. . . . The Industrial School proper would succeed the Community Middle School; the two are complementary; there is no conflict. The conference considers that the Community Middle School (whether urban or rural) should be a place where a child's natural ability is tested, and from which he is passed on to some specialized training."

With regard to English, advocated as a second language in the proposed vocational middle school, the experience in the Punjab would seem to indicate that unless at least one and a half or two periods each day can be given to this subject for *four years*, so that a reasonable command of the language is secured, it is not worth while to displace other more indigenous subjects to make room for it.

These criticisms, however, should not detract from the inherent possibilities for good which the Commission's proposals contain, for there are principles here which a truly functional progressive system of education must include. Such principles are the close relationship of education to the pupil's environment; the emphasis upon learning by doing; the utilization of India's wealth of stories, music, art, and games; the dignity of labor; the principles of self-support and of thrift; the school atmosphere emphasizing community life, co-operative effort and service; the emphasis upon self-development and the making of men; and the developing of a sense of missionary purpose as a directive force in character. Any program of education which sets up objectives of this type and plans its procedure so as to bring about their accomplishment has made a great contribution to the cause of education.

The Moga Conference

The Commission's report, while it stirred up considerable discussion and led to the passing of many resolutions favoring the improvement of existing village schools and the starting of vocational middle schools in various centers, did not result in as much concrete educational advance as had been hoped for. There were several reasons for this. One was the difficulty of financing the improvements suggested; another was the lack of teachers, supervisors, and leaders; another was a certain amount of confusion as to just what was required to begin such work and how one should go about to secure it. This was especially true with regard to the vocational middle school.

In 1922, therefore, the National Christian Council invited twenty Indian and missionary educationists to meet with Mr. J. H. Oldham and Mr. William Paton, Secretary of the National Christian Council, at Moga (Punjab) to discuss what practical steps might be taken to bring into fuller operation the best recommendations of the Village Education Commission.

This group, in addition to discussing the various phases of village education and their development, made recommendations of certain lines of work to be undertaking in the following year. It also recommended the employment of a part-time secretary for village education who should work with the National and Provincial Councils in carrying out the suggested program.[13]

The conference especially devoted its attention to the vocational middle school attempting to work out a clearer and more definite description of what such a school should be. The aims and ideals which the conference ultimately approved were broader than the previous ones and possessed greater possibilities for growth. They were stated as follows:

> The Rural Community Middle School (Vocational Middle School) is a school which seeks to use the activities and valuable interests of the village as a means for educating rural boys and girls for more abundant living and service in their communities. All the work of these schools, including the vocational or practical work should be closely related to the pupil's village environment and so far as possible should grow out of it. The vocational work should not be a separate entity but should be an integral part of the curriculum; enriching it and having as its constant aim (along with the other work of the school), the bettering of present village conditions. Such a school differs from an industrial one, in that it is concerned with a broad vital curriculum and the uplifting of the community through enriched and consecrated personality; while the latter has as one of its principal aims the training of the pupils for a definite trade, through which they may become self-supporting members of the community.
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> The Rural Community Middle School is also quite distinct from a village teachers' training school, although in some cases it may be advisable to have such a normal department attached to it. This makes

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[13] See *Report of Conference on Rural Education in India,* Moga, December 5-11, 1922.

possible the training of rural teachers in an atmosphere favorable to village life and service. (A concrete instance of the type of school we have in mind in an agricultural community is the one at Moga in the Punjab.)

OTHER CONFERENCES

The Moga Conference was followed by other conferences and institutes held in various parts of India in the years 1923 and 1924.[14] Each of these sought to work out a comprehensive program of village education for its area, and in some places teachers' institutes dealing with the meaning and methods of village education were conducted. In each area special efforts were made to start experimental rural schools with the aim of accumulating educational experience and procedure which could be passed on to other schools as their value was demonstrated in use.

While it is impossible to give a full description or a complete list of the findings of any of these conferences, a few selected recommendations relating to matters of curriculum, may be of value.

The conference held at Jubbulpore in 1924, believing that village education was defective in many ways, recommended the following: careful inquiries into such matters as retardation, relapse into illiteracy, etc.; the undertaking of surveys in different areas to ascertain actual village conditions and problems; and the carrying out of educational experiments, with special emphasis upon the project method. With reference to these experiments the conference recommended that they be confined at first to that one school in each mission which offered the most favorable conditions; that they be vitally related to village life; and that when they should prove successful, they be extended, gradually and under careful supervision, to other schools. It was recommended also that village primary schools be coeducational; that where there were more than three classes, at least two teachers be employed; and that pupils completing the course be provided with suitable literature for their further development and enlisted to teach others to read. Constructive and progressive supervision, very different from mere inspection, was also emphasized.

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[14] Conferences were held in 1923 at Ahmednagar, Guntur, Ranchi, and Dhamtari, C.P.; in 1924 at Calcutta, Bezwada, Pasumallai, Jubbulpore, Vellore, and Rangoon. Printed reports are available of the Moga, Ahmednagar, and Calcutta Conferences, from the National Christian Council, Calcutta.

The Calcutta Conference, also held in 1924, reached much the same conclusions. It stated that the curriculum for the rural community middle school which should be located in a rural area, should be in terms of rural life and as simple as possible, and should emphasize the building up of Christian character and the spending of oneself in Christian service. It defined the rural community middle school as an intermediate school connecting the village primary school with the vocational schools and stated that therefore it should emphasize vocational guidance and, throughout the course, should endeavor to direct pupils into the lines of work for which they were best fitted. Pupils having the requisite ability should be encouraged to go on to high school and college, so as to prepare themselves for larger leadership.

Deputations from various Mission Boards in both Britain and America also came to India to study the work of their churches.[15] Most of them gave special attention to rural schools, conferring with their missions and churches and working out a comprehensive program of village Christian education. The reports issued by these deputations will repay careful study, for not only do they point out the weaknesses of the present system, but they also give constructive proposals for more effective educational results.[16]

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[15] Presbyterian, London Missionary Society, Methodist, Church Missionary Society, and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

[16] "The mistakes made by our schools abroad as pointed out by the three educational commissions sent out by the missionary societies of Great Britain, and America (to India, China, Africa) are for the most part the mistakes of current Western education. . . . Uniformity and autocratic control have tended toward the repression of personality. Teaching has been conceived as indoctrination. The development of thinking power in pupils has not been made a major objective. Curricula have ignored the native heritage. The segregation of Christian children in residential schools has resulted in their alienation from other groups of the nations. Religious education has often placed more emphasis on the transfer of ready-made religious ideas and beliefs than on growth. Western forms of worship have been encouraged. An insufficient foundation has been laid in religious matters for habits of thought which tend toward independent interpretation and application of religious truth."—D. J. Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions?* pp. 191-92.

During part of 1923 and 1924 (for over four months) twenty-six selected Indian and missionary educational leaders attended a special training course on Rural Education at Moga. This course and the conferences held throughout India were fruitful in securing not only a more nearly adequate conception of a village educational program and of better educational procedure, but also in demonstrating the need for further inquiry and experimentation. It was the opinion of the group at Moga that there is a need for "more experimentation conducted in central schools where supervision can be more adequate and the results more readily available," that these experiments should "be carried out in selected schools, in close touch with the local environment and the rural needs of the area," and that the results of these experiments should be made available for wider use" as their value and adaptability are proved.[17] An account of some of the outstanding experimental schools conducted by missions will be given in the next chapter.

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[17] See their complete statement, *Rural Education, What It Is and What It Might Be.*

CHAPTER VIII

OUTSTANDING EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS CONDUCTED BY MISSIONS

One of the most hopeful aspects of missionary education in India at present is the inauguration, in various parts of the country, of experimental rural schools, where efforts are being made to work out an effective curriculum and an improved educational procedure. Full descriptions of all such schools would be inspiring and helpful reading, but it is necessary to restrict ourselves to only a few varied types and to the barest outline of their distinctive aims and activities.[1]

The Rural School at Bhimpore, Bengal

The objective of the school at Bhimpore is the affording of progressive opportunities for more abundant life in the school and in the community. Efforts are made to guide pupils so that they may make better adjustments to their environment and at the same time improve the environment. The primary emphasis is upon the determination and use of the whole-hearted interests and activities of the pupils on a high educational level, with particular reference to their social environment.

The Bhimpore school started its experiment in Standard IV. The staff of the school selected this grade and chose the teacher as well. The first social activity attempted was concerned with the raising of jute. The purpose, or motive, arose from the fact that some boys who were making a well-rope from jute fibre which they had bought in the bazaar, found the cost of the fibre so high that they wished to see if they could not grow jute themselves. This led to the securing of a small piece of land, preparing it, buying seed, planting, observing the growth of the plant, harvesting it, preparing it for use, making jute rope, weaving it, dyeing it, etc. A considerable amount of geography, arithmetic, nature study, industrial art, and handwork was a necessary outgrowth of this project, but best of all were the problems which arose, the need for reflection, self-reliance, co-operation, observation, and experiment. Members of the staff kept in close touch with the whole development of this project, both through observation and through reports and discussion in weekly teachers' meetings.

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[1] See Van Doren, *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education,* and Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India.* See above Chapter VI for account of the school at Dornakal.

Other project activities which later developed were the building of a storeroom for rice and other foods; the study and utilization of cactus fibre; the making of a fish net; the spinning and weaving of cloth; and the making of a sun dial and the study of time.

It is planned to extend this type of purposeful activity to several other grades, now that the teachers have a more nearly adequate idea of the meaning and aim of such effort.

The principal of the school lays very great stress upon the need for discovering the pupils' own interests and then encouraging them to carry these interests into purposeful activity. He states that experience has clearly shown the strength of the project method to lie in this purposeful activity. When the project is deficient in purpose, it ceases to be a project. He recognizes that children need to be guided and stimulated in the formulation of educative purposes, and this is done through so arranging the classroom environment that pupils are drawn to certain kinds of activity because of the materials which surround them and the classroom discussions concerning such activities. As in the case of the jute project described above, these activities are those which the teacher knows to have value and in which the pupils are interested because of nearness to their own experience. Guidance is furnished at every point so that the largest educational values in terms of knowledge, skills, appreciations, and character results are secured. These results are increased and strengthened by the democratic atmosphere, the responsible social interaction and sharing among the pupils, and the friendly, co-operative attitude between teacher and pupils.

The principal emphasizes that no rule of thumb method can be followed in this type of education. The spirit of it must be caught; it must be a growth and development in the child's own life and experience. Not only the mastery of subject matter is sought, but one must think in terms of attitudes and ideals; in terms of service and the Kingdom of God. One must induce these ideals and this service in the lives of the boys, by means of an environment and procedure created with this purpose uppermost.

As the pupils at Bhimpore are too poor to pay for the cost of their education, they work two hours each day as a contribution toward the expenses involved. Hitherto the boys have tried to get the easiest tasks and if not carefully supervised, have wasted their time and accomplished little. The principal felt that this might be changed if the pupils worked on projects which appealed to them and which were inherently related to some phase of useful village industry. If this were done, the emphasis would be upon the educational rather than upon the economic value, although the latter should not be neglected. It is therefore planned to carry out a number of home industries on a basis similar to that of the jute project. These industries require inexpensive tools, make large use of waste products, and result in a ready local sale. If boys develop special interest, speed, and skill in this work, so that they are warranted in adopting it as a vocation, they will be encouraged (if of the right age), to develop their aptitude further in a trade school.[2]

Jalna Part-Time Boarding Schools

An ingenious method of securing the advantages of a residential school at low cost and also of keeping pupils in close touch with their villages and homes is represented by the part-time boarding schools at Jalna (Haiderbad). These are especially valuable when villages are too small and isolated to have successful day schools. Pupils come to the school on Monday morning and stay until Friday when they return to their homes for Saturday and Sunday in order to help their parents and often also to help the villagers, particularly with evangelistic or other church work. This contact with their village is natural, regular, and helpful to the school work.

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[2] L. C. Kitchen, Articles in the *National Christian Council Review*, January, 1925; and the *Village Teachers' Journal*, April, 1925.

Pupils either pay fees both for their schooling and food, or they bring their food with them each week.

The advantages of this plan of organization are said to be that attendance is more regular; that it makes a larger and better qualified staff possible; that it brings better educational results; that it develops community spirit; and that it creates a close, vital contact with the various villages.[3]

Ashabaree Community School

A unique type of school emphasizing activities in their natural setting is the Ashabaree Community Middle School at Asansol, E. I. R. The purpose of the school is to bring as much of village life and customs as is practicable into the school lives of the pupils and to utilize this in their education and development. The school is built like a model village. The cottages are eighteen feet by sixty feet, and have flower gardens in front and vegetable gardens at the rear. Three-year rotation and three-season croppage are practised, the work following a government plan and being supervised by government officers. The produce from each garden is used by the boys for food or is sold to the school co-operative stores and the proceeds placed in the bank to the credit of the cottage.

Each cottage has six boys, one of whom is head boy. The head boy plans the work of the home and sees that the various duties are carried out. He is also a member of the village *panchayat*.[4] The boys of each cottage do their own cooking two days a week, using vegetables from their own gardens or buying them from the school co-operative stores. Each home has an account in the school savings bank from which money may be drawn for needed supplies. The cottages are inspected each day, useful prizes being given if the inspection report is favorable for a whole week.

In addition to the co-operative store and the savings bank, the school has a hospital and a post office of its own. All of these institutions are in charge of some of the boys and are run as nearly as possible on a regular business basis. All the pupils have dealings with these institutions in practical ways. At the bank they make deposits (minimum six *pies* or one cent), keep pass books, check the interest, draw checks, arrange loans, etc. The bank is open for one hour each day. The boys hold stock in the co-operative store (eight annas per share), and it is managed by a Board of Directors elected by the shareholders. Quarterly dividends are figured and paid.

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[3] See *Report of Conference on Rural Education*, Ahmednagar, June, 1923, pp. 19-22.

[4] The Village Council composed generally of five of the older and wiser men.

The co-operative store stocks the ordinary needs of an Indian home and all school supplies. Accurate records are kept of purchases, sales, and stock on hand. The store is open for one hour in the morning and a half-hour in the evening.

The hospital consists of a large room fitted with four iron beds, and a bathroom, and it has an open verandah and a closed one. It is in charge of a capable woman who supervises the nursing done by the boys. Twelve boys have earned their St. John's Ambulance certificates through their work done in the hospital. The hospital and the compound are kept clean by the various cottage groups in turn, a week at a time.

The post office conducts the business of a stamp window, selling stamps, postal cards, money orders, V.P.P.,[5] and telegraph forms. This is especially a project of the fifth class, teaching the boys the various phases of the work conducted in a regular post office.

In addition to the above, the school has a poultry department, a carpenter shop, a blacksmith shop, and a school farm. All of these are closely related to village conditions and are so conducted that pupils carry definite responsibility, have opportunities to earn as well as learn, and receive guidance as to their future occupation. The poultry farm is a project of the pupils of the fourth grade, who have the feeding and general care of the hens. They also keep accounts of cost of feed and income from eggs, attend to disposing of the eggs, and bank the profits. It is proposed to provide each cottage with a yard of six hens and a cock and to give the responsibility for these to the residents of the cottage, the whole to be carried out so as to secure valuable educational and character results.[6]

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[5] "Value payable post." Delivered when amount of money specified on package is paid.

[6] See F. G. Williams, "Bringing the Village into the School," *Christian Education,* Third Quarter, 1925; also *Village Teachers' Journal,* April, 1926.

GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CHITTOOR

A similarly organized institution, but with fewer commercial activities, is the Girls' School at Chittoor, Madras. The aim of this school is to educate women who shall excel as Christian homemakers and citizens. In plan of buildings and in administration, an effort is made to bridge the gulf between the school and the home. The principal realizes that the best school ever devised is only a poor substitute for a home, but the effort has been made to model the residential side of the school after the home. The teachers believe that this can best be done by the use of the cottage plan.

Girls ranging in age from ten to nineteen years live in the cottages, about twenty to a cottage (ten to twelve is considered a better number). Such distributions of age in each cottage make easier the distribution of domestic responsibilities and also help toward the big-and-little-sister relationship of a real home. Everything is done to foster the growth of loyalty and of "cottage spirit." The cottage also affords a basis for group competition, and each year shields are awarded for excellence in sports, conduct, scholarship, and household efficiency.

The cottages combine, so far as is possible, Western hygiene with Eastern architecture and ornamentation. The basal plans of the ordinary middle-class Dravidian house, built around three sides of an inner courtyard with a narrow pillared verandah, are used. The doors, as in old Indian houses, have carving on them. In front of the door there is the usual South Indian small verandah with seats of colored plaster. Before this there is a space of hard-pounded red earth where in the morning the girls draw their *kolanes*, or conventional figures made in rice flour. All this redeems the buildings from the standardized sameness which is too common in our Mission schools and keeps before the girls some simple Indian ideals of art and beauty. The courtyard gives scope for gardening, and each cottage has a chance to express its own taste in the cultivation of vines, trees, and flowers.[7]

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[7] Van Doren, "High School Training for Home and Community Life," *National Christian Council Review.*

Each house is a self-contained unit, has its own storeroom, kitchen, and bath, in addition to the common room and the students' rooms. There is also adequate provision on the roof for outdoor sleeping.

Each girl has her share of domestic responsibility. Housework is an essential part of the curriculum. Domestic Science in the classroom is co-ordinated with the practical work of the cottages. Each cottage is free to evolve its own scheme of self-management. Each month two members of the highest classes are chosen to be respectively housekeeper and store keeper. The former is responsible for the order and cleanliness of the whole house. The latter handles money and accounts and plans the meals, trying to put into practice what has been learned about balanced meals and food values. The store keepers receive money covering a week's allowance for food. They have the responsibility of buying from the school matron and also from the bazaar, practice being secured in comparing and judging prices and quality. Accounts are kept and must be presented for audit and approval.

Self government is considered a natural corollary to self management. The beginning in this is very simple, being just an adaptation of the village *panchayat*. At present each cottage chooses its queen or administrative head, and all the houses together elect a *maharanee* (great queen), who lives in each cottage in turn, a week at a time. The queens, maharanee, and resident teachers constitute the Court of Justice, which meets weekly and decides all ordinary cases of discipline. The "General Assembly" meets once each month and includes all the members of the cottages. In it rules are made, abolished, or revised. Anyone who has complaints about anything whatsoever may voice them in the General Assembly and efforts are made to secure constructive action. In these councils the ability to think through the right and wrong of a question is developed as is also the ability to make decisions that are impersonal and dispassionate. Self management and self government have proved their great utility in developing character and have helped in the realization of the school's aims.

A SCHOOL FOR ILLITERATE FARMERS

A simple but very practical type of agricultural education, which stresses learning by doing but which puts most of its emphasis upon securing merely economic benefit for illiterate farmers, is that described by Mr. A. T. Fishman of the Nellore District. Mr. Fishman thinks that the life and condition of the illiterate masses can best be improved by providing opportunities for them in low entrance requirement schools. His plan works as follows: A group of farmers are brought, during their slack season, to the agricultural school for a short period of practical but intense learning of some improved agricultural methods. They are then sent back to put into practice what they have learned. The next year a similar opportunity is given them, if they so desire. The emphasis throughout is upon practical learning for definite results and the immediate use of the improved methods in the village.

The students are followed up, supervised, and encouraged through demonstration and extension work. The latter also has to do with interesting other villagers in better cultivation. In this the emphasis is upon the practical doing of the thing rather than upon lectures and demonstrations, though visual instruction is also used. A farmer is persuaded to try out, on some portion of his land, improved seed, a new method of cultivation, or some special fertilizer. He is encouraged to treat different portions of his land in various ways and to compare results, and is guaranteed against any financial loss he may incur. For instance, a portion of his paddy field will be planted with a certain variety in his regular bunch seedling way; another small portion will be planted in the single seedling way; and finally a small portion will be planted with single seedlings of standard variety. The better results obtained by these experiments are depended upon to convince the individual farmer and the village of the advantage of using better seed, improved planting, and better cultivation. The fact that the traditional method and the new method are carried on side by side by the same farmer on the same land, adds to the force of the lesson.

Farmers who have been to the farm school are urged to take up this type of demonstration work and to try to bring about the gradual economic improvement of the whole village.[8]

EMERGENCY EDUCATION AT MEDAK

A striking approach to a difficult problem is the emergency education at Medak. Like the agricultural work described above, it is somewhat narrow and circumscribed in aim, but it has utilized vital educational principles rather than the traditional memorizing of unrelated subject matter. For this reason it is deserving of our study. Raw village men and women from the outcaste community, with no traditions of learning, are generally discouraging students, and at Medak, though efforts had been made to tell them Gospel stories, with an entire week spent on each story, no one remembered anything. Therefore the method was changed. They began to act out the stories with the result that the Bible became a living thing:

> St. Paul was dropped down over the wall in a basket; was whipped in a new Philippian market and preached to his pretorian guard in an improvised prison. Paralytics were let down from the roof; the hungry were filled; the dumb shouted and the lame danced. Each story was carefully prepared and performed with the greatest reality. The possibility of irreverence was carefully guarded against; the sacred character never being acted, but words alone being repeated in the third person. The emotional effects produced by these children of reverent and worship-loving India were such that those in charge were convinced that the plan brought about most valuable religious development.
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> Indian lyrics and action songs were worked out by the students and teacher and used in the same way. These action songs had to do with Scriptural events; they were full of simple but quaint expressions; replete with graphic action and awakened emotion. Knowing that these people would find it most difficult to learn to read, knowing how they love to sing and how they pick up with ease what is presented in that form, they were encouraged to put the Bible stories to music in their own quaint turns of thought. Their interest in this work; their own intensive efforts; their creative expression; the vivacity with

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[8] A. T. Fishman, "Problems of Agricultural Mission Work in India," *Village Teachers' Journal,* October, 1923. See also the account of the agricultural school at Surul, p. 88.

which they sing and carry through these plays and songs, show that in this method they have found themselves. Folk dances of the district are also encouraged and developed by the students.

There is other practical work—sewing for the women, and other activities for the men. Marching and physical exercises are used to develop erect bearing, self respect and the ability to do things together. In teaching the geography of Palestine, a map is marked out on an open space of land and the towns, rivers and journeys are traced upon it. The dramatic and self expression impulses are constantly exercised in all this work.[9]

The important lesson of this school is the break with the traditional Western methods, in accordance with which literacy is regarded as the first step in any education. The aim at Medak is rather the utilization of sound educational principles and of indigenous abilities and interests to secure real development and creative expression. The narrowness of the aim and of the content should not blind one to the fundamental educational guidance to be found here toward a broader and more comprehensive education.

The Rural Community School at Moga

One of the first rural community schools to attract attention was the one at Moga in the Punjab.[10] The objective of the school is to provide as large an opportunity as possible for the fullest growth and development of selected village boys, in such a social environment and directed by such social aims as will inspire and fit them in life and character to serve their communities. In this objective there are three essential elements: the development of pupils in physical, mental, social, moral, and spiritual ways; a stimulating social environment, which will inspire and direct the interests and activities of the pupils into socially valuable channels; the goal of community service—

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[9] D. J. Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, pp. 113-23.

[10] For fuller accounts of this school see *International Review of Missions*, July, 1923; Various Rural Conference and Mission Deputation Reports (India): *The Harvest Field*, January, 1924; *The Guardian*, January 11, 1923, April 6, 1923; *The National Christian Council Review*, February, 1927; *The Village Teachers' Journal*, October, 1927; A Memorial Pamphlet to Rev. R. H. Carter, 1926. The following chapter contains a detailed account of a visit to Moga. See also Dr. Kilpatrick's Foreword to this volume.

of doing all they can to uplift and further the welfare of their groups and communities.

The point of view of those directing this work is that individual development can be brought about most effectively by the pupils' purposing, contributing ideas, planning, carrying through, and evaluating their activities, when these activities are kept on as fruitful educational and social levels as possible and when they are carried out in a stimulating and uplifting social environment.

Moreover, life at Moga is considered as a unit, and there are no artificial divisions between life in school and out of school. In both of these phases of life pupils are guided to live as richly and as purposefully as possible. This necessitates a real community life both in the classroom and in the residential and recreational life of the school. It also means that such community life should gradually progress toward higher ideals and more valuable social levels.

In the classroom pupils live and work together in real social groups. They learn to put forward their own interests, plans, and suggestions. These are discussed and evaluated by the group and the teacher, and the best plans are carried out. The pupils thus learn to think together, to share ideas and experiences, and to work out a socially approved plan. They learn to recognize weaknesses in their procedure and to find out ways of improvement. They learn to take pride in their classroom and in its contribution to the school as a whole. Gradually they learn to put the good of the group above their own self-centered desires and are increasingly able to take on responsibility for class welfare and discipline. In the ordinary course of their daily work, initiative, self-reliance, independence, creativeness, a spirit of responsibility, co-operation, and helpfulness are all emphasized. The teacher's place is to arrange the classroom environment, to stimulate fresh interests, to guide the discussion, to diagnose and remedy weaknesses, to help elevate ideals and standards, and constantly to work with the children to bring about desired ends.

As to the character of the children's activities, it is believed that their interests are chiefly concerned with what they see, with their work and play, and with what they hear and read. Hence in their thinking and in their work they tend to utilize their own experiences. These, in turn, need to be supplemented with the national experience and larger heritage, the whole being evaluated and reconstructed in order to reach worthy goals. Thus, the pupils' education is rooted in their own experiences and in that of their forefathers, and yet it is worked out in such a way that real progress is secured. This progress, however, is not so far beyond the pupils' present life that it is difficult of immediate application; and a pronounced feature of the school's aim and work is the constant interaction between home, community, and school, on the one hand, and the attempt toward improvement and reconstruction, on the other.

This is illustrated in certain activities worked out by the pupils of the Moga school. These have concerned the village home, its furnishings, its recreations, its work, its people, and their relationships; the village farm, its work and relationships; the building of a house; wheat growing and bread making; milk and its products; cotton-planting, cleaning, spinning, weaving, and dyeing; textile designs and sewing. There have been projects of various kinds connected with the preparation for holidays, for entertaining the whole school, for conducting worship, for dramatizing Bible stories, for decorating the school, for preparing for the coming of an important visitor. There have also been vital problems arising naturally from difficulties met with in carrying through these other activities. In all this work the effort has been to utilize the best methods of learning and, so far as has been possible to check up the results secured.

Other activities carried out by the pupils at Moga, which have had rich educational results, are the following: Projects dealing with the village community and its various functions and relationships; the village shop or store; the village post office; the co-operative society; the local dispensary and hospital; the history and development of the town; the town grain market; and the history of the school. There have also been a forest and lumbering project, an irrigation project, a banking project, and a poultry project, as well as projects dealing with types of transportation, various village crafts and occupations, the garden and farm, etc., etc.

There were also many small projects subsidiary to these, involving the constructing of various things, the solving of problems, the making of excursions and investigations, dramatization, the use of music, stories, games, artistic expression, and the observance of holidays and seasonal celebrations.

All these activities were planned mainly by the pupils under the guidance of the teacher. The purpose and responsibility belonged largely to the pupils, and in the course of their social interaction, in the making of the necessary social adjustments, and in the divisions of labor, there were abundant opportunities for social and for character development. In fact, the richest source of moral development lies in just such social situations as these, influenced by the character and personality of the teacher and guided by him toward the highest results.

The Bible is used probably more at Moga than in many other Mission schools, but its use is not limited to one set period a day. It is looked to for guidance and inspiration whenever it is needed. It is a guide for conduct, an inspiration for worship, a source for ideals, and a stimulation to unselfish service.

The same principles governing classroom hours are operative outside of school hours. The students have a socio-civic organization, closely related to that of the village. The pupils elect a *panchayat*[11] or governing committee, and there are a number of subsidiary committees responsible for various parts of the school's life and activities, the chairmen of which meet with the *panchayat* from time to time to talk over their problems, interests, and special fields of work. Pupils have responsibility for the care of their rooms, for washing their clothes, for cooking and serving their food, for looking after the school grounds, for athletics and games, for school entertainments, for evening worship, for social and religious service. A fine community spirit has often been built up which has manifested itself in pride in the school, in a desire to further its interests, in assisting boys who are sick or in need, in serving the surrounding community, in community singing, dramatics, and worship, in working for sufferers in the Near East, Russia, or China.

Moga has always emphasized self-help, self-reliance, the dignity of labor, and the proper use of money. Since the pupils are unable to pay for their education, they have been inspired to contribute toward its cost through their own labor. They have done the necessary chores about the school and living quarters; they have earned considerable from their farm and garden plots (the former one-sixth of an acre, the latter 35 x 35 feet) ; they have worked at village home industries, such as rope and basket making, brick making, iron and wood work, book binding, etc. Accounts have been kept of all these earnings, and the amount each pupil might reasonably be expected to pay for his schooling was determined by his age, strength, and possible earning capacity. In this way the pupil became familiar with what his education actually cost and what proportion of it he was paying.[12] From such a procedure the pupils tend to develop a sense of independence and self respect and to learn the value and use of money and the necessity for thrift and careful expenditure.

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[11] See pp. 228-32 for the functions of a panchayat.

Efforts are made to have the gardening, the farming, and the village industries developed as projects. They are worked out much as they would be in real life, but they are vitally coordinated with the classroom activities. Pupils find it necessary to seek information, to observe good workmen, to plan their work effectively, to keep records, to check results, to sell products, to figure profits, and to study animals, plants, and their growth. These processes occur in the pupil's work with a frequency sufficient to motivate the practice essential to the building up of the necessary skill. The necessary computations, keeping of accounts, checking of payments, and so on, become vitalized arithmetic, demanding strict accuracy. The desire to increase one's income leads to the study of quicker and better methods.

The Moga school is itself a "service station," and it strives to set an example to its students. It supervises village schools and follows up its own graduates. It conducts a special short course for teachers, and has an annual Teachers' Institute. Twice each year it invites the Christian village people of the Moga district to community gatherings for educational, social, and religious development. It seeks to minister to the people of the surrounding villages, and its practice teaching in the villages includes community service. It publishes at Moga a *Village Teachers' Journal* in two languages, and this is later translated into many other languages. Thus its influence extends considerably beyond the immediate locality in which it is located.

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[12] This work has recently been reorganized and educationally improved. See the article by A. E. Harper on "Self Help at Moga," *Village Teachers' Journal*, April, 1926.

General Summary of Missionary Education

Mission schools in general, despite their faithful, consecrated work, have been too prone merely to fit into the existing educational system and to lumber along in the rut of mediocrity. There has been too little desire for change and progress, too little experimentation. Yet, if missions are to make their best educational contribution to India, it will be by adding not merely to the quantity of education, but rather to its quality. This necessitates an inquiry as to the special contribution which Christian education has to offer, as to what is its peculiar strength. Obviously it is not sufficient to add to the regular educational program some formal Bible study and a special chapel service, in the hope that these, together with personal contact, will bring about the desired results. More and more some educators are beginning to realize that the primary need is to determine and state clearly the objectives of Christian education, and then to work out classroom activities, educational procedure, and organization and method in such a way that these objectives may be attained. Together with this should go a careful checking up of results at every point to determine just what is being accomplished.

In such experimental work, advocated and now being carried on, lies considerable hope of progress. The educators engaged in this experimental work have taken their stand on fundamental Christian principles—the sacredness of human personality, the child as central and of fundamental importance, and the large possibilities for growth and development of the human mind and spirit. They believe that such growth and development are best secured through educationally valuable, purposeful activity directed by teachers of high ideals. There should be an enriched classroom environment and such spiritual and social interaction and fellowship as will result in a unified, balanced, and socialized personality. Lastly there will be a lofty goal of endeavor toward which to direct one's efforts—the development of character and of the Democracy of God. For the Christian, such activity and such a goal are intimately bound up with his fellowship and co-operation with Christ in God. The Christian's effort is never merely individual; rather it is co-operative with God.

In Christian education, then, real knowledge of a functional nature (based upon the experience of the individual and of the race) has a large place; attitudes of reflection, of meditation, of suspended judgment, of a desire for larger knowledge, of initiative, self-reliance, social fellowship, spiritual aspiration, co-operation, service are specifically striven for. Fundamental habits and necessary skills are built up. Appreciations with regard to work, study, literature, dramatics, music, art, worship, religion, recreative play, etc., are steadily developed. A broader social outlook and high ideals of life and service are gradually gained. To be sure, these will not be fully achieved in the elementary school, but the foundations for practically all of them should be laid there and a start made in the building of life and character on these lines. Nothing less than this constitutes a fully rounded education.

CHAPTER IX

A DAY IN THE SCHOOL AT MOGA

During the years when the writer was principal of the Rural Community School at Moga, numerous visitors came from various sections of India to study the work of the school. Their comments on what they observed varied from enthusiastic praise to keen criticism, but they united in regarding the methods of the school as a genuine contribution toward the solving of the educational problems of India.[1] It may be of interest to the reader, therefore, to imagine himself a member of such a group of visitors as, under the guidance of the principal, it follows the activities of the day's work and play at Moga.

The Approach to Moga

The attractiveness of the approach to Moga, as viewed from the railway train, varies greatly with the seasons. Moga is in the heart of a rich wheat and fodder country, and in the winter months the fields, as far as eye can see, are green and beautiful with growing grain. In the early spring the color changes to a golden brown, and the wide expanse of these waving, ripening crops is rich with the promise of harvest. Our visit, however, is made during the hot summer, when scarcity of rain and severe heat hinder cultivation except in small areas close to wells or canals, and the hard-baked soil, the vast, desert-like expanse of the Punjab plains, the dust and glare, the mud houses of the same dull color as the earth and sky—all are disappointing and depressing. We wonder how, in such surroundings, any work of promise and enthusiasm can be done. Even after leaving the single-track railway at the small station of Moga, we see little of interest. At the rear of the station lies the town, a large, overgrown village, with one main business street and closely huddled houses. To the front of the railway station we see only barren fields, with a few scattered buildings. Later we learn that there are many things of interest in Moga. One of these is the hospital of Dr. Mathra Das, the celebrated eye surgeon, where probably more cataract operations are performed than at any other place in India. In Dr. Mathra Das' busiest season as many as one hundred and fifty or more of these operations will be performed each day. So skillful has he become, that surgeons from all over the world visit his hospital to study his technique.

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[1] *The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab,* said, "The most interesting and valuable contribution to educational progress in India during the last few years has been the work . . . at Moga. . . . the objects of this work are to provide a form of training to boys of the depressed classes, which would enable them to return to their villages as teachers and to become a rallying point to the whole community. . . .

The Minister of Agriculture: "Immensely more useful than the ordinary school."

The Governor of the Punjab: "I need not say that I was particularly interested, not only in the working of the project method of education, but also in the methodical instruction given in agriculture. The former must go far to relieve education of its purely routine aspect and must add a great stimulus and vitality to its processes. The latter is the first effort of the kind I have had the opportunity of seeing in the Punjab, and I have not the smallest doubt that it is of the highest value. It seems to me that this is a pioneer work which we might with advantage extend in the Punjab."

The Inspector of Schools: "It is an object lesson to those who have eyes to see and who are interested in rural education."

Then there is the extensive wheat market, with its numerous brick shops and large open square covering two city blocks. From this market grain is shipped to other parts of India and even abroad. Just off the main street of the town is a fine old garden, with splendid fruit and shade trees and a considerable variety of plants. There are also a number of well built school buildings in Moga, which serve the boys of the village and the surrounding district.

Today, however, we leave the station immediately, and a drive of half a mile brings us to a fine, broad trunk road, one hundred feet wide. Soon after turning into this, we see the restful green of hedges, trees, and plants surrounding a group of brick buildings. It is the community school we have come so far to see. We note the well planned garden and farm plots, the clean roadways and paths, the trees, lawns, and flowers, the simple, well-cared-for buildings, the students working or playing in the school grounds. In the distance we see a line of trees, marking the irrigation canal, while the broad trunk road looks like a long, shining ribbon rolled out to meet it. After the wide sun-burnt fields and the glare and heat of the train, the verdant gardens, with their quiet beauty and restfulness, make a deep impression.

As we drive up to the school, several students appear and, after greeting us in respectful oriental fashion, offer to help us with our luggage. Something about these students attracts and holds the attention. They seem different from the most of the village lads we have seen. It is not merely because of their dress, which is clean and neat; it is more a matter of inward quality and spirit, and this impression of the older students deepens as the day progresses.

THE SCHOOL GARDENS

We have arrived early enough to see some of the activities which occupy the pupils before the school session begins. Here is a group of boys working in the school gardens with obvious interest and zeal. They seem completely absorbed in what they are doing, whether it is the heavy work of opening up the soil or the lighter task of cultivating the plants and collecting their fruit. Evidently these boys do not think that manual labor and education are incompatible or that hard work is degrading. They are dressed, not as students, but as workers of the fields. Some wear simply a cloth draped about their loins; others wear, in addition, a loose-fitting shirt or vest. The clothing is simple, loose, similar to village practices, and suited to the task in hand. We note their tools with interest. They vary from small hand trowels, which the boys manipulate from a squatting position, to the modern "Planet Junior" cultivators. For digging, the boys use the village *kahi* (mattox), while those who are making up their plots into beds draw the earth into place with a flat draw-board to which two ropes are attached. Thus we see that the students are taught to use the ordinary implements usually found on village farms and also the improved implements suitable to the country. We cannot doubt the genuine interest that the boys are taking in their work. Some of them have strikingly large plants, evenly spaced, in straight rows, with each row uniformly filled, while others are not in such good condition. We learn that the reasons for the failures are drought, carelessness, and insect pests, and that such failures become lessons and warnings to those that have lost money thereby. They also

Plate IX—Demonstrating a New Plow at Moga

Plate X—A Prize Garden of Cauliflower at Moga

furnish the gardening problems that are studied in the classroom. The successes are also pointed out to us, particularly a plot of cauliflower which has yielded its owners the sum of twenty rupees. We begin to understand why the principal of the school has emphasized the character-forming and testing power of gardening and farming. Neglect or carelessness is speedily revealed, while honest, conscientious work has its reward. Moreover, a poorly cultivated plot subjects its owner to group disapproval, while a successful one brings praise. This naturally stimulates the boys to do their best.

We talk with the young gardeners and learn that each student beyond the Primary grade has his own garden plot, 35 x 35 feet, for which he is fully responsible. The primary children have a common co-operative plot for their respective grades, and they also work on the school plots, under supervision. Each year the pupils, with their teachers, measure and plot out the available land and work out plans for their individual gardens. Each student, in consultation with the agricultural teacher, selects vegetables which he thinks interesting and profitable and learns, both in classroom and field, to prepare the plot and seedbed, select and test seed, sow it, cultivate and nurture the tender plants. Under guidance, they are responsible for finding where they can get the best seed, implements, and fertilizers and placing their orders for these. We realize that here we have an illustration of the successful working of classroom instruction which effectively combines the theoretical and the practical and tests out the pupils' ideas and plans in life situations. Nature study includes experimentation in germination, growth, moisture, fertilization, plant pests, etc.; in the higher grades agricultural problems are more definitely investigated. Physical and climatic geography are vitally related to this garden work. Arithmetic is needed in all the processes of measuring and keeping accounts, and the need for reading and language arts is self-evident. Favorable attitudes toward manual labor, improved methods in farming, experimentation, and integrated practical learning, along with resultant character and social outcomes, are all possibilities. Thus early in the day we learn that classroom instruction and vocational work are not separate entities, but that both are essential to the students' education and development.

We learn, too, that the pupils market their own vegetables through the school store, keep their own records and accounts, and are entitled to the money received after they pay land, water, and tool rent and purchase fertilizer and seed. From their profits, supplemented by other earnings, they pay their school fees and living expenses and use the balance as they wish—sometimes for a gift to the school, or some charitable purpose, or a school excursion.

We show an interest in these student records and account books and ask for an explanation of the system. We find that the income side of these books indicates that a student may earn money from garden and agricultural work, from village trade work, and from doing school chores. The debit side shows expenditures for materials, etc., required in the above types of work and also for school fees. Pupils of the first, second, and third grades are expected to pay fees varying from Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0 per month; fourth year pupils pay Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per month; the middle grade pupils, Rs. 4-8-0 to Rs. 5 per month, and the normal pupils, Rs. 5 per month. These figures are considerably lower than the actual costs, but they were arrived at on the basis of the actual earning power of the pupils of the various groups. On this basis it is anticipated that the average boy who does reasonably good work "will earn approximately eight annas per pupil per year per marla." Over a period of many months we learn that the average monthly earnings for the various grades, ranged from Rs. 1-8-0 or 1-12-0 in the upper primary to Rs. 4 in the fourth grade and Rs. 6-3-0 in the highest classes. The total amount earned by the pupils in 1926 was Rs. 5,940, and from this the students paid school fees and other charges amounting to Rs. 4,363.

The boys also have a separate account with the school, which indicates how much material and money have been advanced to them, until their crop is ready for the harvest; also how much they have paid back and how much yet remains to be paid. Upon inquiry we find that every entry in this account book must be countersigned by an instructor or a monitor and that all books and computations are carefully checked with the school's own accounts once each week in the arithmetic period. Since these accounts involve actual money due to the pupil, he is very careful about the accuracy of his computations, for even a small error may mean considerable loss to him. He is no longer content with merely a passing grade in arithmetic, but he insists upon 100 per cent accuracy through checking and rechecking each of his computations. At a glance we can see that this means the vitalizing of arithmetic in a much more effective way than is usual in school arithmetic classes.

The boys seem proud of their accounts, and they are particularly pleased that they are partly paying their way through school and earning their own pocket money, as well as any gifts or charitable contributions they may wish to make. As one student expressed it, "Since earning my own money and paying my fees, I feel more honor and self-respect. I think all the boys feel this way. When we had a chance to give to the Near East Relief Fund, we were proud that we could give money we had earned ourselves." A further inquiry reveals that the students have contributed twenty rupees each month to the salary of their pastor and to the expenses of the church and that these contributions have steadily increased. They have also given to other philanthropic causes both in India and abroad. Greatest of all was their joy in reporting a subscription of Rs. 106-12-9 on "Golden Rule Sunday." All of this came out of their earnings. One boy said, "Since this is a matter of food for these poor people, I propose that we do our own cooking free for a month, save the Rs. 45 that it would cost, and pay this into the fund." This was enthusiastically voted by all. The principal informs us that he thinks this self-help aspect has not only helped to vitalize arithmetic and gardening but has also increased the ability of the students to "stand on their own feet," and take care of themselves. It has developed thrift and an intelligent use of money, and it has led pupils not only to be willing to work but to do better work. It has increased their self-respect and has led them voluntarily to assume responsibility for their own education.

Basket Making

All the students, however, are not working in the gardens. We notice small groups seated cross-legged under the trees working upon various types of simple village industries. Here is a group of fifth grade boys who are making the rough, strong baskets used by the Indian villagers in carrying various things from the field to the home. The materials are the young tender branches of certain common trees. These branches are buried in the earth for some time to make them more flexible. The only implement necessary is a sharp knife for pointing and trimming the branches. The boys seem to be especially careful about making the bottoms and the upper finished edges of the baskets as strong as possible. Some are more skillful than others in the selection of the best branches and in weaving them in and out of the framework so that no loose ends are visible. The more experienced boys make the bottoms and framework, while the beginners make the sides. The baskets are not beautiful, but they are substantial and serviceable and will stand much rough usage either in the field or the market place.

We learn from the instructor that the boys receive pay for their baskets and that they add this to their earnings from the gardens and the farm. They learn about the materials used, where to secure them, how to treat them, how to make stronger and better baskets, and where to market them. We inquire as to the purpose of this industrial art work in the boys' education and are told that it is closely related to their classroom project and to village life and needs. It is designed also to provide a leisure-time occupation both for themselves and for the villagers when they, as teachers, will later serve in village schools. The ultimate purpose is to develop in the boys both the ability and the desire to improve the economic conditions of their villages.

Rope Making

We rapidly visit some of the other groups. The boys of the fourth grade are making rope. Some have small bundles of reeds such as are found in marshy places. They pound these with wooden mallets and gradually secure from them a fibrous-like substance in varying lengths. Others take these fibres and, rolling them rapidly and deftly in the palms of their hands, produce a strong, closely twisted form of rope. The ends of the fibres are then carefully worked or plaited into the rope-like product, so that there is no one place weaker than another. Thicker rope is made by twisting or platting several strands of the thinner rope. One's skill is judged by testing the rope's uniform thickness, its strength, and the speed with which it is made. Some boys are rubbing the completed rope vigorously to remove any loose ends or rough edges. It is then wrapped up in large balls. Some of the older boys weave the finished rope back and forth over the wooden frame of a bed, thus making a very comfortable rope bed. A few of the boys are sufficiently skillful to do close, neat weaving in attractive designs that would be recognized anywhere as superior artistic workmanship. Other boys are engaged in repairing broken rope-work on beds from the school dormitories. In this, as in all the other industries, the students learn not only each separate process but also the complete process from beginning to end.

Brick Making

Another village industry that attracts our attention is the making of sun-dried bricks. The boys engaged in this work are older (sixth grade), and seem to be working more rapidly than the others. Two are mixing a considerable amount of clay, finely cut straw, and water to the proper consistency. Their method of doing this would delight any small boy, for their legs are bare and they are jumping up and down mixing the ingredients with their feet. Other boys are carrying this prepared material to the brick makers. Each one of these has a home-made wooden mold, without top or bottom, which he first rubs in sand to prevent the clay from sticking. He then gathers up what seems to be just the right amount of material, thrusts it into the mold, pats it down firmly and evenly, and smooths off the top with a flat board. A deft turn of the mold releases the brick and leaves it on the ground to dry and bake in the sun. These bricks, we are told, are later used to repair or build walls, to erect small houses, or to repair the earthen buildings damaged by the rains. School students have at various times helped to erect some of the present school buildings, and on one occasion, during an important piece of construction work, they took the coolies' places in carrying materials and doing heavy manual labor, when the latter refused to work over a period of several days.

Book Binding

The normal school class is busy learning to bind and repair books and pamphlets as a type of avocation that will be useful to them when they become teachers. These students are binding note-book materials, pictures, and mimeographed sheets. They are also repairing old books and binding new ones. The processes involved are the cutting and trimming of the pages, the making of the necessary holes, and the final sewing of the books. Some are pasting on the cloth backs and bindings and then effectively fastening them to attractive covers. As in other industries, each student learns to do each process and also the carrying through of the entire project. The principal tells us that he is not so much concerned with extensive production as with the developing of skill and speed in each process. He also points out the way in which this industry is integrated with classroom work in the study of the materials used, the accounts and records kept, the problems solved, and the economic, social, artistic, and geographic factors studied.

In observing all this trade work, we are impressed with the degree in which the common raw products to be found in almost every village community are utilized. We note, too, the simplicity of the tools and the processes, the extent to which these processes can be carried on in the home in spare minutes, and the ease with which the completed products can be marketed in the village or in the near-by town. We can see the possibilities these simple industries have for supplementing the villager's income and raising his economic and social status. In addition to these possibilities for the future, the students who are learning these various trades are paid on the basis of a daily wage, and when they have become sufficiently skillful, they are credited with the value of the things made.

Preparing a Meal

We notice other groups of boys engaged in various school chores. Some are working upon the roads and paths, others are attending the farm animals, still others are getting school materials or dormitory equipment ready and others are working on grass and flower plots.

One group is busy preparing breakfast for all the other boys, and we find this an interesting process. A very large brass vessel contains the dough from which the boys are making flat cakes of bread (*chapatties*). A boy takes some of this dough and pats it between the palms of his hands until he gets a thin flat cake about the size of a large salad plate. This he places upon a round, convex, iron plate which rests upon a large, low fireplace built of sun-baked bricks, in which a hot, smokeless fire is burning. When the cake is baked on one side, he deftly turns it over. After baking it in this way, it is put upon the hot ashes for a few moments, and when it puffs up it is considered thoroughly baked and is added to the rapidly growing pile of cakes. A large kettle of lentils is also boiling, and several boys have just secured a plentiful supply of cool, fresh water from the school well.

A short time later the signal for breakfast is given, and the students come from the gardens, fields, and trade work. They assemble at the water tanks surrounding the well, where, after washing up, they secure their brass or aluminum plates and cups and proceed to the place where breakfast is to be served. This is a long, wide verandah or porch. The boys stand as they sing grace or as one of their number returns thanks for the food. They then sit down upon the floor with their feet doubled under them. They are arranged in two long lines about four feet apart. Down this middle space the boys who are serving the food proceed, giving to the boys on each side of them three or four of the *chapatties* with several ladles of the boiled lentils. Another student fills the cups with the fresh, cool water. It is a very simple breakfast, but the boys are ready for it, and they seem to enjoy it thoroughly. Good humor prevails, and they have an interesting time talking over the things that interest them. They insist that we try some of the food, and though it seems very strange to us and rather plain and tasteless, we can see that it is wholesome and substantial. The boys wish us to eat as they do, by folding the flat bread and using it as a sort of spoon or ladle for the juicy lentils. We try it, but the lentils run off the bread over our fingers and probably over our faces as well. This greatly amuses the boys, and we watch them with renewed admiration as they deftly use their pieces of flat bread in making the lentils disappear, without soiling their fingers or clothes. Spoons, knives, and forks are not needed, and they are not used. The diet is mostly vegetarian, a desirable thing in this hot climate. The flat cakes are a part of every meal, but lentils are often replaced by curries made from vegetables. When breakfast is over, each boy takes his dishes, washes them himself, and puts them away with his belongings. The boys who have done the cooking, clean up the utensils and scrub up the floor, putting everything into spick and span shape for the next meal.

In talking with these boys we learn that they have been appointed by the Student Government Council to do this work for a week. In addition to the cooking and serving, they have the responsibility for buying the necessary food stuffs, keeping the accounts, and working out the cost for each boy. Those doing the cooking are paid for their services at market rates. The remaining students pay for their week's food out of their earnings. At the end of the week a new group will be appointed. In each group there are one or two boys who know the work well. The others may be much less experienced and skillful. Formerly one full-time cook was employed, with student helpers to aid him. However, since the students have had complete charge, the results are even more satisfactory, both educationally and physically.

Early Morning Procedure

We ask some of the students what they did that morning before we arrived. We find that most of them were up rather early and that, after bathing, they made up their beds and carried them outside to sun and air. After a quiet time of meditation and private devotion, they all assembled in the school auditorium for worship, after which they divided into groups for Bible study. The principal tells us that on Christmas and Easter mornings the boys form in a procession and march about the school grounds and surrounding neighborhood singing some of their favorite psalms and hymns. They are accompanied on village drums and quaint musical instruments. It is an impressive procedure, he says, for one to hear the music in the distance, note its nearer approach, as it becomes louder and clearer, and then hear it gradually fade away in the distance.

The Grounds and Buildings

While the students are preparing for classroom sessions, we visit the various buildings and note the type of equipment used in the school plant. The campus has three sections: the unmarried students' quadrangle, with hostels for the boys, some of the teachers' houses, and the principal's house; the instructional compound, with the new school building and the practice school; and the married students' quadrangle and other teachers' houses. In the first, the hostels are arranged conveniently on the two long sides of the boys' garden plots, which comprise seven or eight acres, with the headmaster's house and garden at one end, and several masters' houses, with their gardens, at the other. Behind these is the principal's house and compound, and beyond it the school farm, containing about thirty-five acres, of which ten or twelve are given to dry farming. The entire school grounds, including the farm, contain about fifty-five acres, forty-five of which are under cultivation. Three wells supply water for irrigation. They are equipped with Persian wheels, which consist of a continuous chain of small galvanized buckets passing over a large wooden or iron wheel. When the wheel revolves, the buckets at the bottom of the chain are filled as they are drawn through the water. They ascend as the chain is drawn up by the wheel and are emptied as they pass over the wheel on their downward journey. The discharge of water is continuous and rapid. The water is caught by a large trough and conducted by irrigation channels to the fields. A small portable engine and pump are also used on these wells to secure additional water.

All the buildings on the school grounds are plain and simple in construction. They consist of walls of sun-dried bricks, with one outer row of burnt bricks. They are similar to the houses of well-to-do village people. They represent an economical type of construction, with enough burnt brick to reduce the cost of repairs and maintenance.

The older hostels have two large sleeping rooms, accommodating eighteen boys each, with a superintendent's room between. A verandah extends along the whole length of the hostel. The buildings are well ventilated and lighted and are equipped with rope-woven beds, and boxes and cupboards for the boys' belongings. One is an open-air hostel, with one side having open arches like the porches of other buildings. The younger boys live in this. The dining hall is simply a series of verandahs, with brick floors which can easily be washed off after each meal. The kitchen and storerooms are to the rear of one of these dining porches.

The students sleep either on these hostel verandahs or out of doors most of the year. They do not have mattresses on their beds, but many have a rug with a sheet spread over it. A blanket completes the bedding, although in the coldest weather a comfort would also be needed. The boys are responsible for keeping the hostel clean and tidy, taking care of their own beds, clothing, and other belongings. We are surprised to find that students' possessions are on open shelves where they are in clear sight of everyone. Yet, we are told, there is practically no interference with each other's belongings. This is attributed to the spirit or standard built up by the boys and their leaders that such disloyal and dishonest conduct would not be tolerated by the group.

The teachers' houses are like the hostels, except that they are adapted to the needs of a small family. Each teacher's house has its own garden, cultivated by the teacher himself, which often serves as a model or as a stimulus to the students' garden work.

The married students' quadrangle, located apart from the other quadrangle, has two lines of married quarters, with two teachers' houses between. The houses consist each of a single room with a verandah in front, on which there is a small low fireplace. Food is both cooked and served on this verandah, and it is here that the little family spends a good share of its time. The furnishings and the style of living are of the simplest, but they are clean and wholesome.

The instructional compound has a very attractive school building shaped like the letter E. It has nine well-lighted classrooms, an agricultural and industrial arts room, an auditorium, a library, and an office. A verandah extends around the entire building on its inner side. It is surrounded by gardens and by centers where pupils carry on their industrial arts work. To the east is the model village school. It consists of a single large well-lighted room with rather wide verandahs on two sides. The building is so designed that one teacher can supervise four classes, two in the large room and the others on the verandahs. A door opening on each verandah, with windows also on one side, provides access and makes supervision possible. At times the building has been used for the Women's School (the wives of students, who are taught the ordinary school subjects, household economics, care of children, home industries, personal and village hygiene, and character and religious training). At other times it has been used for the combined first and second grades, or for the demonstration of a real village school. Available ground for gardening or other out-of-door work surrounds it.

Behind the main school buildings are the silos, sheds for cattle, and storerooms for industrial arts and farm implements. The silos are not like the western silos. They look like deep, dry wells, about thirty feet deep. In the early summer they are filled with fodder crops, and the resulting silage is used up during the winter. We express doubt as to whether oxen will eat this food. In answer, some fresh fodder and some silage are placed in a trough before the oxen, and we are surprised to see the oxen reach across the fresh fodder to get the silage. The cattle shed is made of sun-baked brick on an open-air principle, similar to such sheds in the village. The outstanding difference is that there are provisions for drains and tanks, so that valuable fertilizing elements may be conserved.

To the east of the main building and near the hostels is the largest of the school wells. On each side of this well is a series of washing places or brick tanks. Some are reserved for bathing, some for washing clothes, and some for general school and farm purposes. There is also a large tank where boys can swim. This tank is a very lively interesting place after the school sessions or after several hours' work in the hot fields. Then the boys splashing about in the tank or swimming or playing pranks have a noisy, enjoyable time. This tank serves also the purpose of securing a good head of water for irrigating the distant garden plots.

Each student washes his own clothes at one of the tanks. Saturday afternoon is a popular time for this, since everyone wishes to be clean for Sunday. The method of washing interests us. They wet and soap the garment thoroughly and then pound it with closed hands, occasionally turning it over. Sometimes they take hold of one end of a large garment with both hands and repeatedly swing it over their heads, bringing it down with force upon a flat stone or brick curbing. This may be hard on the garment and its buttons, but it certainly removes the dirt!

The school does not have as much ground as it should for play and athletics, but the students can play football, volley ball, basket ball, and similar games. Great interest is taken in the well known group games of the villages as well as in new ones. Many members of the staff enter enthusiastically into these games, and there is a carefully developed program of exercises, games, and sports, for each of the grades. There is also considerable free spontaneous play at intervals throughout the day and in the evening. The boys are very fond of field events, wrestling, and stunts of various kinds, and they greatly enjoy the special days on which these are held.

The other buildings on the campus are the headmaster's and principal's houses, in bungalow style with arched verandahs. The buildings and grounds are more spacious than the other teachers' houses but otherwise are similar. We are told that the total value of the school plant is about Rs. 180,000 ($60,000). Part of this money was furnished by the Mission Board in America, part by the Government, and part by gifts from churches and individuals.

The bell has already rung for the beginning of the classroom sessions, and so we go at once to the main school building. We are taken first to the classroom where the first and second grades are combined under one teacher. We are told that this is done so as to approximate more closely the school conditions in the villages in which the teachers now under training will later have to work.

As we enter the room, we find that while the teacher is devoting his attention to the first grade, the second grade boys are engaged with a wringer-like machine through which they are passing raw cotton to remove the seeds. Another group is fluffing up the cleaned cotton and preparing it for spinning; still another group is rolling out some cotton in the form of a sliver and then attaching it to a hand spindle. This is twirled until thread is gradually formed. These pupils are older than the first and second grade children in other schools, for the school does not admit boys as boarders until they are eight years old.

A House Project

Passing by the second grade boys for the present, we turn our attention to the first grade boys, who, with the teacher, are discussing some subject with animation. We find that they are eager to put a roof on a village house they have been building. The four walls have already been built of sun-dried brick and the doors and windows are in place. The house is large enough so that the boys can go in and out on their hands and knees. We find that they have previously been observing and inquiring about the roof. They have examined several village houses and buildings on the school premises, and they have inquired from the carpenter about roofing materials, their preparation, and the method of placing them in position. After reports on these matters, the class decides to use bamboos, matting, and mud for the roof of their house. They agree to get bamboos and matting from the bazaar after measuring the roof to find out how much is needed. The bamboos come in six-foot, eight-foot, and ten-foot lengths, and the group must decide which is the most economical. Measurement and simple arithmetic are called for, and the teacher makes this an assignment to be worked out later. Other problems arise: How long must each bamboo be to rest firmly on the walls? How many of the long bamboos will be needed to get the right number of short ones? The total cost of the matting and bamboos must also be computed, and arrangements must be made for a thorough checking of results. After the teacher has made sure that the pupils understand just how they are to proceed, he dismisses them to return to work out their problems in connection with the house they are building.

The teacher tells us that when the pupils have solved these problems, they will be led to see the next essential steps, with their resulting problems. Among these are the following: estimating the total cost of the roof, dividing it among the group and deciding how to raise the money and how long it will take; planning to have the teacher write an order to the shopkeeper for the material and noting how the letter is addressed, stamped, and mailed; investigating the material to see if it has the necessary qualities for a roof; drawing a plan for the frame of the roof and the placing of the bamboos; cutting the bamboos and placing them in position equal distances apart and fastening them to the walls; learning to protect the bamboo frame from insects and decay; collecting reeds and grasses for matting and learning to make the matting; measuring, cutting, and fitting this matting; preparing the mud and waterproof coat to be placed on the matting; testing the strength and quality of the finished roof; discussing the various uses of the roof; planning a coping and rain pipes to drain it; planning to keep the rain water from collecting and standing near the house because of the danger to health and the consequent necessity of good drainage and disposal of wastes; summarizing all the work done in a description to be written down by the teacher; reading this, and, after sufficient practice, reading it to visitors who come to observe the "activity work." Then there will be games related to the weaving of the matting and the making of the mud roof and a little festival or program planned to celebrate the successful roofing of the house.

We can see at once the educative values of all this and the interest and pleasure with which the children work. We are impressed with the repeated opportunities for out-of-doors observation, investigation, manipulative and constructive activities, and practice in the three R's—all in natural life situations. Nature study, hygiene, and industrial arts are co-ordinated in this project. It is noteworthy, too, that the pupils are able to work alone or in small groups, with independence, ingenuity, and self-reliance. Their acceptance of responsibility and their social co-operation, as well as their desire to evaluate their work, are clearly to be seen.

In order to check up on the pupils' ability in such a fundamental subject as reading, we select a simple story from a supplementary reader that the pupils have not seen before, and the teacher asks them to read it silently for a few moments and then asks one of them to read it aloud to us. The boy selected does it very well. Then we try writing simple sentences on the blackboard, and the pupils have no special difficulty with these. We then try out their ability to attack new words, and find that they can do this successfully through their knowledge of phonetics and word analysis even when the words are considerably beyond their grade level.

We are told that this is the result of the "story method" of teaching reading. In this method, much use is made of developing the daily experiences of pupils in the form of short sentences and paragraphs. These are discussed and read by the class. Many of the words which it is desirable to have the pupils learn also appear in the directions necessary for carrying out a project. They also appear in interesting stories. The pupils are led to see and recognize a whole phrase at a time, and only after this the separate words. They learn to recognize familiar phrases in any situations in which they find them. Phonetics is used as a tool for attacking and pronouncing new words. Careful observers of this method have stated that it reduces the time required for learning to read by about a quarter to a half of that needed by the older methods. During the past five or six years, only one pupil of the first class in this school has failed of promotion at the end of the school year, and many have been able to complete both the first and second grade work in this time. We are so interested in all this that the teacher has them read previously unseen passages from the Gospel of John. We also select passages for them to read and are surprised to find how remarkably well these small boys attack and read such advanced material. They also read a story adaptation of a section of *King Lear*.

The teacher then shows us a memorandum which sums up all the various experiences and problems connected with the building of the village house. These include the following:

A visit to observe the building of a house.
Where shall we build our house?
How large shall we make it?
What direction shall it face?
Building the foundation.
What materials to use?
Making a brick mold.
Making sun-baked brick.
Building the walls of brick.
Making door and window frames.
Making the roof.
Plastering floor and walls.
Building the verandah.
Planning the courtyard.
Painting the woodwork.

Making the house convenient.
Making it attractive.
Planning and designing furniture.
Furnishing the house.
Beautifying the surroundings.
Enjoying home games and pleasures.
Performing home duties.
What the village does for the home?
What the home does for the village?
Homes in other lands.
Animal homes.

Each of these phases is carried out in much the same way as the one concerned with the roof. We understand also that there are in this grade, as in all the others, many other projects related to holidays, seasonal interests, out-of-school experiences, play, and expressional and spontaneous activities of various sorts. These projects may be long or short, simple or complex, in the field of one subject or in many. They may be concerned with building attitudes, appreciations, and ideals, with knowledge and aesthetic outcomes, with character and religious outcomes.

A Cotton Project

When the second grade class comes to the teacher for a conference, we find that small groups have been engaged upon three different problems: How can we remove the seeds from the cotton we have raised in our school garden? How can we fluff it up and prepare it for spinning? How can we spin it into thread? Each group reports on what it has done. Those cleaning cotton first tried to pick out the seeds but found this a slow, difficult process. Then they went to observe how it was done in the village. They describe this and show the device they have worked out, modeled after the one they have observed. They show how it works and tell of the difficulties they have had with it. These are discussed and suggestions made for improvement. Other children operate the device, and the teacher asks others to tell all that has been done. Various important and interesting happenings connected with the process are added, and the teacher makes a selection and writes them in simple words on the blackboard. The children later read this material, being helped, when necessary, to pronounce the words and work out their meanings. The teacher asks the pupils if they know other ways of cleaning cotton, such as are used in larger villages and city factories. Through pictures, explanations, and discussions, he leads them into some idea of more progressive procedures to save time, money, and effort. Several very simple arithmetic problems regarding such savings are evolved, and these become a part of the pupils' study assignment. Questions are also raised as to the best way of keeping a record of all they are doing. Then the teacher asks what use can be made of the cotton seeds. Several pupils tell of uses they have observed, and they discuss where they could go to learn of other uses. These are supplemented by the teacher, and the whole plan, including experimenting with some of the processes, is made a part of the assignment.

The other groups who have been working on the fluffing of cotton and on hand spinning, also report and have their material developed and assignments made in much the same fashion. In addition, they are led into the pleasurable experience of dramatizing the spinning of the thread, while learning an appropriate spinning song.

We discover that these activities are part of a larger unit on the "village farm." The pupils, after seeing the cotton grow, wished to grow some themselves. In consultation with the teacher, they selected and prepared the ground, selected the seed and planted it, and cultivated the growing plants, observing the various stages in the development of the seed and plants and keeping a record illustrated with sketches, pictures, and specimens. In this way they learned through experimentation what helps the plants and what hinders their development. They also observed conditions and methods in other places. When the cotton was ripe, the pupils gathered it, removed it from the boll, removed traces of pod and fiber, and, as we have seen, cleaned, prepared it for spinning, and spun it into thread. Later this is woven into cloth on a hand loom. All this is accompanied by stories of cotton, cloth, and clothing, as well as by dramatic play based upon the happenings connected with them, both in India and in other countries. Simple measurement situations in connection with all the processes are natural parts of the activity. Simple records are kept throughout, and an interesting product chart is built up representing what has been done from the cotton seed to the finished clothing. There is also an illustrated picture study of all the operations connected with cotton, including spinning, weaving, and the making of garments, as they are carried out in other countries. A study is made of different types of cloth as to texture, strength, design and cost, what each type is used for, and how to select the best type for one's purpose most economically.

A visit is made to the shop of a dyer to study dyeing. Color and shades and the harmonizing of them are considered. Next a tailor is visited in order to see how he selects cloth for a shirt, how he cuts it, sews it tentatively, fits it, sews it permanently. His tools are observed, and note is made of what he does by hand and what by machine.

The adaptation of clothing to different countries and climates is discussed. The necessity of warm clothing in cold weather leads to a discussion of ways of preventing colds. The care of clothing is also considered, including washing, repair, and protection. Indeed, the interesting topics and problems connected with cotton seem almost endless, and we are given to understand that this grade also has many other types of pleasurable and educative play experience, as did the first grade.

A Village Project

When we are ready to move on to another classroom, the teacher has one of the pupils take us to the third grade and introduce us to the teacher. We find that the pupils here are engaged in constructing a miniature village. Some are working on the main street and the small shops fronting it, while others are laying out the fields or farm plots which surround it. We note that the village resembles many that we have seen, but with important differences. The streets and lanes are wider than in the ordinary village, the mud-walled houses are not so close together, more light and ventilation are provided in each house, and the courtyards are larger and cleaner. The village wells are located at suitable distances from houses and from sources of contamination, and the well curbing is built up so as to prevent surface water from running back into the well. The village is supplied with a number of buildings we do not find in every such community. There is a dispensary, a post office, a small railway station, a school, a public garden, a co-operative bank, a *sarai* (travelers' inn), and a police station. There are also places of worship, a community gathering place, a playground, and the homes of village officials. The pupils working upon the fields surrounding the village have laid out larger and more consolidated farms than one usually finds; village refuse piles and fertilizing materials are in pits placed at a considerable distance from the village and are covered and protected. The village tank is so constructed that it may be drained, and it has separate provisions for cattle, the washing of clothes, etc.

We talk with the pupils and the teacher about the work and find that they have made a number of visits to the town of Moga and to the surrounding villages to find out what are the necessary parts of a village. Differences have been noted in the various villages and towns with regard to the design and location of shops, houses, wells, etc.; also with reference to cleanliness, light, air, and protection. Questions and problems have arisen, and the pupils have been guided in inquiring and in reading simplified materials in order to discover the best practices. After discussion as to the best ways of doing these things, they have incorporated them in their model village. Standards have gradually been built up as to what all this means with regard to the school premises and the pupils' ways of living and acting in them. Sanitary and hygienic habits with regard to their food, clothing, and shelter in the hostels, the necessary community sanitation, the measure of protection and security, the distribution of labor, the social organization and government of the school community, its wider relationships, its play and recreations, folklore and music, its worship, its educational and cultural opportunities are seen in relationship to the improved village community and its life. Also the extent to which many different people in these communities and from wider areas are contributing to supplying these things to their own community and to any village group is determined.

We find that the pupils also learn, in the same direct, practical way, about how the village and their school community are protected from disease, fire, crime, pests, and violence. They also study the organization and government of the village, its ownership and capital, its transportation and communication.

They learn of its relationship to other villages, to the district, and, in general terms, to the provincial and national government. The teacher informs us that later the pupils will work out a large-sized model of the whole district, indicating subdistricts, roads, railways, rivers, canals, products, and important centers, and that these will be studied and developed in relation to Moga and the near-by villages. Other subsidiary projects which the teacher hopes will develop are those associated with wheat, flour, and bread; with the making and understanding, through use, of a village harrow; with milk and all its products; with the care of cows and cattle; with the preparing for special occasions of worship, recreation, community service, and holiday celebrations.

The teacher points out that the "core" projects of the first three grades (the village home, the farm, and the village), have to do with the local environment and the life experiences of the pupils, and, to some extent, with their relationship to the district and the province. From the fourth grade on, the pupils' horizon is widened to include the province, the nation, and the world.

A Shop Project

We visit the fourth grade and find that their principal project is the village shop—a real shop which is open for business an hour in the morning and again after school hours. The boys, in rotation, attend to the shop each day. It sells the vegetables raised by the students in their garden plots and other articles needed by the school community. Every evening the boys who have vegetables to sell bring them to the shop, where they are weighed, priced according to the bazaar rate, and the resulting amount credited to the student. This bazaar rate is determined by the students at least once each week. The vegetables are sold on a cash basis to the families of teachers, married students, and missionaries, and to those in charge of the school's kitchen and cooking. Those remaining unsold are taken to the local bazaar and sold there.

The shop is an actual building, which the boys erected themselves. It is of mud-brick, about six feet square and six feet high, and it has a front platform on which to display vegetables. At night these and the other supplies are stored in the building. In order to run the shop efficiently, the students have to investigate the way shops are conducted in the bazaar, what articles are in demand, how goods are cared for and stored, how they are priced, weighed, bought and sold, how profits are computed, and how accounts are kept. Two account books are used. In one the names of the students supplying the vegetables, the quantity and value of these, and the extent to which they are sold are entered. In the other, the expenditures and the income of the shop as a business concern are kept. The accounts are made up at the end of the month, and at this time each student who has brought vegetables to be sold, receives in cash what is due to him.

The arithmetic involved in this activity is of the most lifelike kind. It involves measuring, counting, weighing, calculations of various types, use and exchange of money, computing profits, keeping records and accounts. It also involves the writing of letters, sale slips, bills of goods, advertisements, posters, order blanks, and statements. It includes inquiring and reading widely about shop and trade practices, about the materials used and sold, and about the utility, value, and need for fresh vegetables. There is some learning with reference to the care and protection of these fresh vegetables as well as their display. It includes geography and nature study of the surrounding district, transportation, commerce and trade. The pupils also learn the proper treatment of customers, restocking the shop, taking inventory, investing profits, enlarging the shop, buying things from a distance, and wholesale buying and selling. We find that these pupils will also carry out other projects on the village post office, on means of transportation, and on other subsidiary interests of the life and play of the school and the environment.

At the recess period we go out to watch the boys at play. We find that students from the normal class collect various groups of boys, start a game that the boys wish to play, supervise the activity, and stimulate the interest and co-operation of each one. Other boys are engaged in track events and wrestling, and here is a group going through an amusing series of exercises and postures in which they are imitating the actions of certain animals and birds. Over there is an older group of boys engaged in playing volley ball with some of their teachers.

The most popular game, however, seems to be the Indian game of Kabaddi in which the boy behind whom a knotted cloth has been placed, must chase the boy placing it there around to the place he has vacated, beating him with the cloth as often as he can.

IRRIGATION AND WOOD PROJECT

We now enter the fifth grade and find the pupils eager to tell us about their irrigation and wood project. They become so interested in the canals and irrigation channels in and around the school that they wished to see how they worked, where the water came from, and for what other purposes it was used. They observed how the land was planned and graded so as to provide free access to the water, where seepage occurred, and the need for a high head of water and a rapid flow in order to get water to the distant fields. They noted the need for storage reservoirs, for large channels near the source of supply and for smaller ones in remote places. They visited near-by canals and irrigation channels and wanted to know where these came from. This led to a study of maps and of the whole irrigation system of the province, as well as the cost to the cultivator and the benefits he received. Then they worked out a large model of the foothills and the headwaters of the canal system and the storage basin. They discovered other uses for canals, and one of these which interested them was lumbering. So they learned about this activity—the selecting and cutting of the timber in the mountains, sliding and transporting it to the canal, floating it down these to the markets, and thence to the sawmills and to the merchants. Lastly they studied the numerous uses to which the selected timber is put. These were observed locally and associated with the village industries in the school, which were connected with wood working and materials made from wood. They also studied the different kinds of wood, what each kind is used for, and how to select wood for certain purposes. They collected and studied leaves, bark, seeds, fruit, and found out the uses and characteristics of as many different kinds of trees as possible. Information was secured from the Forestry Department, from books, and by inquiry.

It does not take much thought to see that this project involves geography science, history, nature study, forestry, agriculture, health and welfare, drawing and design, appreciation of beauty, arithmetic, reading, and writing—the last three needed for measuring the wood (in both square and cubic measurements), working out the cost and selling problems of it and of the irrigation water. We can easily see, too, that much enrichment of the project is possible by means of music, industrial arts, games, play, stories, descriptions, nature poems, keeping clear and interesting records, and doing creative writing.

Another project of this group is the developing of a history of the Moga Training School—its early beginning in Ferozepur, where it was known as the "School of the Minor Prophets," its transfer to Moga in 1911 under the direction of Mr. Carter, who gave it its present motive and essential aims, its unification under Mr. Carter's successor[2] and the Rev. Samuel Jiwa, who integrated the agricultural work, the school chores, and extra-curricular interests with the curriculum, introduced simple village trades and a socialized organization, including self-government on a village basis, replaced formal teaching with modern educational methods (particularly teaching through life experiences, or projects), and put the teacher training upon a new basis, correlating it more closely to village life and giving more opportunity for directed practice teaching. In working out this project the students particularly try to find out and understand the principles, attitudes, and ideals of the school and its founders, and their program for village reconstruction.

A Dispensary Project

Our visit to the sixth grade brings us one of the biggest surprises of the day. In the classroom itself the students have developed and now conduct a small dispensary, under the guidance of their teacher who formerly studied compounding. Here, at certain times of the day, the simple ailments of the boys or other people of the neighborhood are treated. The table and almirah (cabinet) for this dispensary were planned and made by the boys themselves. The medicines are bought out of their pocket money or from contributions to the "Dispensary Poor Box"—the free-will offerings of patients, who all are treated free of charge. The pupils have made a study of common ailments and diseases and of the methods of treating them. They have had a good course in First Aid and in health, hygiene, and the prevention of disease. They have studied the common drugs, their histories, and the countries from which they have come. They have found much use for arithmetic in working with weights, measures, statements, costs, and the percentages of patients in the Moga hospital who come from different parts of the country, as well as the prevalence of the diseases they suffer from. They have also kept records and accounts, have estimated the price of drugs, have had experience in the careful weighing of small quantities of materials, and have repeatedly used liquid measures. They have written careful accounts of their work and of what they have learned. They have drawn excellent charts of parts of the human body as these were needed in their work. They have drawn maps of the world showing places the chief drugs come from, the methods of transport, and the related geography of these countries.[3] The students have also made all the record forms required for reporting their dispensary cases to the medical inspector, and they have also made all the signs and labels needed in their work.

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[2] The writer. At the end of 1924 Mr. and Mrs. Harper took charge of the school and, assisted by Mr. Carter, who had returned from America, consolidated and improved the instruction and work both at Moga and in the villages.

The students became interested in this problem through their acquaintance with the Moga Hospital and its clever eye surgeon, Dr. Mathra Das. This institution, referred to earlier in the chapter, is known far and wide and is noted not only for the excellence of its work but for its charitable attitude and willingness to serve those in need. The class visited this hospital and its dispensary, studied its organization and its treatments, investigated records, pamphlets, charts, and books, and developed a keen interest in the problems growing out of the number and character of the patients, the most common ailments, the methods of treatment, and the cost of medicines and of medical service. They noted the desperate need of many villages which had no dispensary service, and they saw the possibility of the village teacher's rendering some service to relieve the simpler ailments. In their work on this project, special emphasis was put upon the treatment of malarial fever and upon the elimination of the sources of infection. Preventive measures against cholera in the summer and plague in the winter were also stressed.

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[3] This project is well described in an unpublished report on the Moga School by the Rev. Oliver Thomas, Shillong, Assam.

This dispensary project, inspired by the Moga Hospital, was an outgrowth of a larger survey of the town of Moga, sometimes undertaken in this grade. At times such a survey is started through their harvests of wheat, which are sent to the Moga grain market. First comes an investigation of where the grain comes from, where it is stored, how prices are determined, how payments are made. Then the group studies other phases of the town—how it is laid out, how it came into being and developed, how it is related to the outside world through the things it receives as well as through the things it sends out and the services it renders. Then they learn about the various institutions of Moga and the services they perform. They also find out about the town's provision for lighting, police protection, fire protection, sanitation, public health, grading, building, and aesthetic beautification. Social and race relationships, law and the courts, playgrounds and recreations, and means of transportation and communication with the outside world are also studied. Investigation is made of the effect of geography, history, and tradition upon its development. The influence of its hospital is studied, and the effect of the nearness of cities is ascertained. All this study of Moga and its many relationships is then applied to the villages, and the possibility of bringing about improvement in these rural areas is emphasized. This is valuable not only because of the first-hand information received but also because the techniques of observation, investigation, and problem-solving are learned.

The knowledge gained is confirmed and enlarged in the classroom. It is also made more experimental by working out and demonstrating improvements through models and other devices. Much valuable history material is obtained in this way, for Moga is largely peopled by the Sikhs, who were the rulers of the Punjab before the British came. Again, in mapping out the town to scale, with its streets and connecting highways, its railway and canal, its means of communication, and its relationship with other parts of the province and with India, considerable practice is given in practical geometry, which is a school subject begun in this grade.

We find that everything important discovered, planned, or done by the students is written in their project books. We examine some of these and find that they are kept neatly and correctly with reference to composition, grammatical form, and spelling, so that they may at any time be put on exhibition. The project clearly involves wide reading, keen observation, and careful investigation. The social instinct is developed throughout by the necessity for working together and helping each other for a common end. The teacher's part in the project is to guide and direct investigation and study and to give special instruction as needed. Since the boys realize that they need this teaching for their own work, their interest and attention is strong. Sometimes the teacher works with the whole group, and sometimes with individuals or small groups.

We have been surprised to find here, as elsewhere in the classrooms, that even for the older boys no desks or chairs are used. They all sit on the floor or squat down at some piece of constructive work. Those engaged in dramatics or some other form of expression, stand or move about freely. They tend to form in small groups working on different types of activity. They talk to one another when necessary and there is no formal discipline to be noticed. Yet their real order and attention to business is an outstanding feature of the school.

Another very attractive feature is that the social practice of good manners and respect for the convenience of others is clearly evident. The students bring chairs for visitors, supply them with books and materials, demonstrate and explain their work, are courteous and considerate to each other, and seem to have the ability to see quickly an act that ought to be done and to be able to do it thoroughly without being told. We speak of this to the principal and he tells us that it is this which enables each class and the whole school community to carry on successfully their common work. Discipline is inward and self-imposed rather than outward and compelled by the teacher. This is the principle of the school, and it certainly seems to work at Moga. We are told, too, that one visitor to the school stated that the best evidence of the good work done at Moga is the very noticeable improvement made in the personality and conduct of the older students. The difference between the older boys and the boys who have recently entered the school is marked. The former have a type of manliness, of self respect, of vigor and enthusiasm that is noticeable.

A Thrift and Banking Project

We next enter the seventh grade classroom to find the students there engaged upon a thrift and banking project, with special emphasis upon the Co-operative Credit Society. We learn that the students' interest in this project resulted from the self-help plan of the school. From the money that the boys have earned, some remains after they have paid their regular expenses. They are led to see how this money will grow if they put it in a savings account. They actually figure out the waste and loss involved in the village practice of hoarding money. They investigate such instances as that of the man who has hoarded fifty rupees for ten years. At the end of ten years he still has merely fifty rupees. If he had put this on interest at 4 per cent compounded annually, he would now have ninety-four rupees. They are also led to see the loss in the prevalent village practice of transforming most of one's savings into jewelry. They figure out how their small savings will increase if they deposit a regular amount each week, at the above rate of interest, at a savings' institution and they check their results.

In talking with the teacher we learn that the students learn, in practical life situations, to carry out the following experiences: opening a bank account, making deposits, learning the value of regular, systematic deposits, studying the records kept by the bank and in their own passbooks, discovering the difference between checking and savings accounts, computing interest, simple and compound, drawing out money, investigating different types of banking and commercial papers, overdrafts, loans, promissory notes, and reinvestments. They visit a bank and find out how it keeps its money and accounts, what it does with the money, how it makes money on its business, how it is organized and managed, how it is related to other banks and to a clearing house, how it is safeguarded from losing money through bad checks, loans, theft, and overdrafts. The different types of banks and institutions for savings, their availability to village people, the terrible loss and burden of the prevalent village money lending system, and the ways of finding out whether a bank is safe and reliable are also studied.

The teachers of the school have a Co-operative Credit Society, and this is investigated with reference to its organization and management, the method of selling its shares, the sources and amount of its income, the safety of its investments, the liability of the stockholders for the amounts invested, the method of securing loans and of making payments, the type of records and accounts, and the relationship to other societies, central banks, and to the whole co-operative movement. The students learn the value of this form of investment, with reference to village needs, and how to organize such a society in a village community.[4]

At times this grade has had the post office, with its savings department, and the whole subject of communication as their major project. The students have visited the local post office and, under the direction of the postmaster, have studied all the phases of its work, giving special attention to the postal savings department, money orders, registration, insurance, and foreign drafts. The Government Code in this grade emphasizes interest, investments, profit and loss, in the field of arithmetic, and in that of geography, Australia, Africa, and South America in their relation to India. We learn that the students have worked out the foreign mail routes to these countries, including the distances, time, and expense involved, as well as the types of exchange and communication between them and India.

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[4] The organization of a Thrift Society has been one of the recent innovations. During the past few years the boys have been earning increasing amounts, largely from the extra work they have been doing to pay their way through school. The Student Council and the staff felt that the time was opportune for the introduction of thrift. The development of a Thrift Society was undertaken as a project by this particular grade. A central society operated by this class under a Board of Directors representing each grade of the school and the staff, acts as a clearing house for the branch societies. Each grade in the school is a branch society. A system has been worked out whereby all earnings for the various grades over certain stipulated amounts, are deposited with the treasurers of the branch societies, and these are then banked with the central treasurer. The Thrift Society is now considering how it can make its funds earn more money, so that the largest benefits may accrue to each depositor and to each grade in the school.

A Program of Village Reconstruction

In the eighth grade, the highest in the demonstration school, we are told that the students devote most of their time to revising, integrating, and reorganizing the things they have learned. This lends itself to a consideration and study of the following: The reconstructed village, its problems and needs; the weaknesses and strengths of village life; causes of these weaknesses; possible remedies; agencies for securing improvement; the place of the school and the teacher in the process. A program of reconstruction is developed by teacher and students, which involves co-operation of the various constructive forces and agencies of the community. In this program the strategic opportunity of the village school for co-operation in local constructive endeavor is stressed.

Upon completing the work of this grade, all the students sit for the official (Government) Middle School examinations. We are told that during the past six or seven years not more than one member of a class has failed, and frequently all have passed. This is also true of the Normal class, for in the Government examinations since 1925, all the students have passed. Previous to that, twenty out of twenty-one passed in 1924, and twenty-three out of twenty-five in 1923. These results are all the more remarkable when it is understood that students from other provinces, who are not very familiar with the Punjab vernaculars, have studied in these classes. The testimony of these examination results regarding the effectiveness of the school's work, is borne out by the comments and written statements of those who have visited and studied the work at Moga, for either short or long periods of time. These testimonials indicate not only the worth of the subject-matter outcomes of the school but also the value of the larger results in the formation of desirable attitudes, appreciations, habits, and ideals. Visitors like ourselves are much impressed with the "leading on" qualities of the educative activities and interests of the school, and with its power, through education, to improve village conditions and village people.

The Normal Class

The principal now tells us that we have barely enough time before school closes to visit the Normal class and that we surely must see some of this work, since it is the crowning feature of the school. We find the students and teacher engaged in animated discussion of the excessive burden of debt under which most villagers labor. All seem to be aware of the prevalence of this indebtedness and of how it enmeshes a man deeper and deeper in its toils until he finally loses hope of ever being free and independent again. They seem to be trying to find ways of meeting this tremendous problem, particularly ways in which the teachers and village school can help. Many believe that the Co-operative Credit Society has great possibilities and cite instances of what it has done for some individuals and some villages. The teacher suggests sources from which facts can be secured and puts forward, as challenges to the students' power to think and organize data, certain problems and hindrances that village teachers often meet. We understand that these will be discussed, analyzed, and solved on the following day.

We recall having seen members of this class teaching or assisting in some of the other school grades, and we find, upon inquiry that graded, directed practice teaching is strongly stressed in the training of these students. At first they observe regular teachers at work and thus learn how they teach and meet the various problems of the classroom. Then they have directed practice teaching, first in one subject, then in teaching a whole class for a short time, and then in having charge of a class for an entire day. Later they teach two or more classes at one time under conditions similar to those existing in the villages. Observation of village conditions and actual practice in village schools, however, is considered the most important phase of this work. Early in the year the students make a survey and study of village communities and report their findings back to the class. These reports, along with materials in the rural social problems course, are made the basis of the class discussions. Near the end of the year, the entire class is taken to the various villages, and here they live for two or three weeks organizing and maintaining new schools, teaching in established schools, promoting community work, and carrying on their studies and class discussions on the basis of their experiences.

The rural social problems course, referred to above, is considered an essential part of this Normal course for the following reasons: it furnishes a background for all the other Normal work; it provides practice in investigation and methods of attack of prevalent problems in Indian villages—economic, social, moral, cultural, educational, and spiritual; it furnishes information as to what is already being done toward the solution of these problems and what service the teacher and the school can render; it supplies a field for experimental work.

Another important course in the field of technical education is "Principles of Teaching," which aims to give the students a working philosophy of education. This is supplemented by "Child Psychology," in which pupils are trained in the observation and study of children and in planning methods of interesting and challenging the best efforts of pupils. The specific methods for teaching each of the school subjects in the curriculum of the village school through meaningful processes, are emphasized. The Normal students' deficiencies in background and subject matter are diagnosed and efforts made to supplement them.

During the year, we are told, the training class students have been guided in preparing the different kinds of apparatus that have proved valuable in their teaching. At the end of their course they are allowed to take this apparatus with them, and thus go out well equipped to begin their teaching, especially in the tool subjects.

Religious education and character formation constitute another course of supreme importance. A syllabus of instruction and extra-curricular activities are developed and students have considerable practical use and application of these things, both in their own lives and in service. Emphasis is also placed upon meditation, worship, wholesome living, and service. Supervised practice teaching of the Bible is stressed, and the Normal students teach Sunday school classes, under guidance and supervision. They also teach such classes each week in the villages, under similar direction.

Difficulties of village school management and pupil personnel problems are discovered and worked out under practical conditions. In fact, the whole Normal school is based upon a simplified but thorough study of the application of psychology and educational investigations to teaching materials and methods, under the conditions which teachers will need to meet in villages. These students do a large amount of independent reading in their work and learn to think and plan rather than to follow a routine slavishly.

We discover that the training school students have gardens and farm plots in which they try to work out improvements for the villages. They also acquire skill in village home industries. They participate in the work and play of the school and in all that helps to maintain its high level. The principal tells us, however, that more important than all these is the developing in these Normal students of a sense of mission, a vision of what can be done to revitalize and uplift village life.

As the closing bell rings, the boys leave the classrooms and go to their dormitories, where they get into work clothes, and we are told that the next hour and a half are to be devoted to work on the farm plots, in the gardens, on the village home industries, and in many necessary chores, such as preparing the evening meal and getting ready for the various evening activities.

While we wait for the boys to return, we ask the principal about the drawings, charts, poems, and so on, that we have seen on the classroom walls, and we are told that the pupils are encouraged to express what they feel, to produce something original, to evaluate and improve their productions. We also ask why pupils and teachers leave their classrooms frequently for observations, excursions, investigations, play and games, work in the gardens and at trades, visits to other classrooms, and sometimes for continuing their class discussions out-of-doors. We learn that they are encouraged to turn to nature and to community life, as well as to books and magazines, that they may be stimulated to find "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything."

We have already learned something of the importance and the methods of religious education and character formation, for we have noticed that the Bible and religious instruction form a natural and integral part of all the work of the day. When we speak of this the principal tells us that it is the belief at Moga that religious instruction and character development are brought about in the same way that other learning is, and this is not by simply acquiring facts, but by actual living and social experience. Character cannot be imparted; it must be won, and instruction must ever be translated into conduct. For this reason much emphasis is put upon the environment, upon social situations, upon activities that involve the acquiring and exercising of moral and religious ideas, upon responsible freedom for one's own conduct and for the spirit and good name of the school. Systematic religious and moral instruction is also given, however, and efforts are made to guide pupils in Christian conduct, in stewardship, in worship, in community responsibility, and in service. In the lower classes emphasis is placed upon Bible stories and projects, informal dramatization, thought and character judgment exercises, training in worship and stewardship, and the spirit and practice of unselfish service. In the upper classes the courses emphasize biographical studies of the great characters of the Bible, the life of Jesus, the developing conception of God and religion among the Hebrew people and in the early church, and the social teachings and principles of Jesus. Finally, in the Normal class a rather careful study of Jesus as the Master Teacher is made,[5] with practice teaching as already described.

Long before our discussion is finished, the students have returned from their dormitories and have gone to work. We walk out to the school farm and on the way we notice groups of boys engaged on village home industries—but different from those we observed in the morning. One group of older boys is rebuilding a school wall damaged by a heavy rain. They remove the disintegrated portion, use sun-baked brick made by another group in the morning, plaster and put these bricks into place, and coat over the whole wall with a finishing coat which makes it waterproof. This is just the type of work which they will later need to do frequently in the villages.

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[5] A year or two ago the work in religious education was reorganized and improved. An analysis was then made of desirable Christian conduct for boys in a school community. A list was made of specific habits, attitudes, appreciations, and ideals needed for such conduct, and these were then graded according to the class in which they should be emphasized. Bible stories and teaching and interesting activities were then chosen to help in building up these habits. Regular supervision, exercises in character judgments, and tests were arranged.

A second group of seventh and eighth grade boys are busy repairing garden and farm appliances made of wood and iron and mending similar equipment from other parts of the school. They are also making new materials needed on the farm. The work is somewhat rough and unfinished, but it is the type of article used in the villages and serves its purpose reasonably well. Each boy receives practice and develops some skill in each of the operations involved in the use of common wood and iron working tools, and we are interested to observe that he learns to use his toes as well as his fingers, for it is frequently a help to support and hold a board with the toes while one is planing it or carrying on some other operation.

We discover yet another group of boys who are co-operating with a tailor in mending students' clothing and repairing bedding. The boys are learning now to make a shirt. Most of the work is done by hand, though the students get some practice on a sewing machine. In this sewing the student learns to hold the cloth with the toes, so as to have his hands free. When the Indian boy uses a needle for sewing, he always thrusts and draws the thread away from him instead of toward him. We learn that these students also learn to take apart old garments and remodel them.

We are told that the goal in view regarding all this work is that each student will ultimately be able to care for minor repairs on his house and its surrounding compound, that he will have the skill to make or repair simple articles needed as furnishings of his home, that he will be able to care for his own clothing, and that he will have the ability to teach members of the village community simple home industries that will supplement the earnings from their farms.

THE SCHOOL FARM

As we approach the farm land of the school, we notice groups of boys working on different plots of land. Some are irrigating the crops by guiding the water from the large irrigation channels from the wells down the small earthen ones running along the sides of their plots and then flooding the growing plants.

Others are cultivating grain or fodder with a hand cultivator, while others are weeding. In another section students are plowing with an improved plow pulled by oxen. It is built much like the indigenous plow, but it has a large steel plowshare similar to an American plow. Oxen can easily pull it, and it has but one handle instead of the two on the American plow, which would seriously handicap the cultivator in driving his oxen. It turns up a furrow four or five times as deep as that of the indigenous plow. We are told that the neighboring farmers have had the school buy similar plows for them and have come to the school for help in their difficulties with crops or fields, especially when some pest or blight has attacked their crops. In the distance we see another small group of boys harrowing a plowed field to get it ready for planting. As we approach we notice that the harrow is made of three pieces of heavy 4 x 4 wood, so placed that they form an equilateral triangle. Through each of these pieces of wood are driven long equi-distant iron spikes. This makes an excellent bar harrow at very small cost. We talk with the boys and learn what they are doing, why they are doing it, and the best way to do it. We learn that each boy above the fourth grade has a farm plot of one-fifth of an acre, but that the boys frequently combine their holdings and work four- or five-acre plots co-operatively. They seem willing both to help each other within the group and to help other groups in times of special stress or difficulty. The school emphasizes this co-operation and also the amalgamation of small plots of land. We notice that some of the land is devoted to dry farming and are told that this is done so that students may learn both types of cultivation. The dry-farming plots are double the area of the irrigated plots.

After paying the school a land, equipment, and water rent, and after purchasing seeds and fertilizer, the students are entitled to the entire proceeds of their plots. They keep records of the various field operations and accounts of their expenditures and income. The principal tells us that these farm plots are worked on a project basis and are vitally integrated with classroom, garden, and village industries. This unity and coordination are, he believes, fundamental to the value of the method and one of the main reasons why it is of service in giving the manual side of education its proper place in the pupil's mind and attitudes. We understand that at the beginning of the season the agricultural instructor draws up a list of the plots and the pupils and teachers work out what can most advantageously be planted at this time and what will probably be the earnings from each plot and crop. The procedure is then similar to that previously described in connection with the school gardens. Experimental procedures are also frequently used on small plots. The soil is plowed to different depths, or a varying number of times, or cultivated in different ways, and the results are recorded and compared. Various kinds of seeds, different ways of planting or cultivating, and different types and combinations of crops in the same field are tried and the effects noted.

The boys describe with much enthusiasm some sorghum fodder plants which are nearly twice a man's height, great tall maize, and yellow fields of mustard, American cotton, which for height and width would be the equivalent of several plants of the Indian variety, and wheat that is tall and heavy, well filled with grain. They tell us that they have exhibits of the best things they have produced and that twice each year there is a general meeting of the whole student body, at which reports are made of what each pupil has produced. Those doing well receive their reward, while those doing poorly are stimulated to greater effort.

Besides the hour and a half which students devote to this work each day, there is a full day each week of work for students above the fourth grade. There is plenty of land for each boy, as the school recently secured fourteen additional acres, which now makes possible the cultivation of about thirty-five or forty acres. The boys also tell us how they care for the farm animals, preserve fertilizing material, and run the wells for irrigation purposes.

GAMES AND ATHLETICS

When the work period is over, many of the boys go to the school playground for games and athletics. A similar program to that of the morning is engaged in, except that the play is more free, less supervised and directed. A game new to these boys, which is rapidly becoming popular, is American basket ball. Team play in football and hockey has not been possible to any great extent in the past because of lack of space, but with

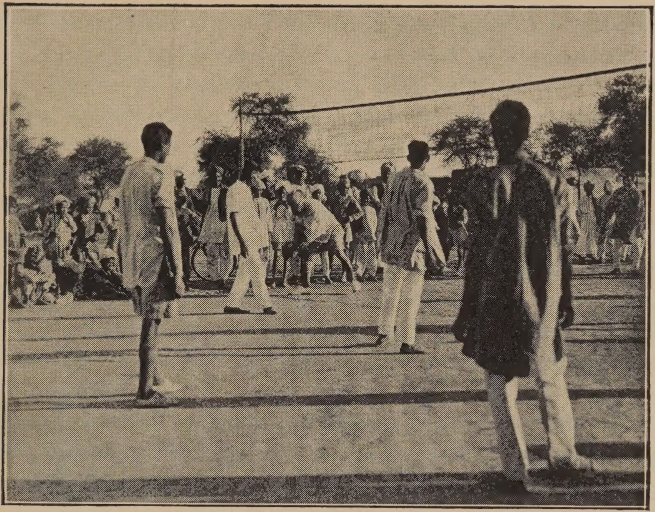

PLATE XI—A FRIENDLY GAME OF VOLLEY BALL
(MOGA TEACHERS VS. PUPILS)

PLATE XII—MOGA PUPILS COOKING FOOD

the acquisition of new land, a full-sized playing field is possible, and this is now being planned. Contests of various kinds and out-of-doors stunts are greatly enjoyed. The boys tell us of their kite-flying contest on Empire Day. The contestants made their own kites and had to prove that they could not only get them aloft but could also keep them there. They had great fun over the kites that refused to leave the ground or insisted upon diving and dashing themselves to pieces instead of soaring to the heights. At times the successful boys got into friendly combats and tried to saw the kite strings of one another so as to sever the kite or get it out of control. Hikes and excursions are much enjoyed. The stunt features of holiday celebrations are extremely popular.

At the close of the play period, which continues until almost twilight, the boys dash for the bathing places and swimming tank and have a fine time splashing around and incidentally splashing others as well!

Evening Devotion, Study, and Recreation

After this the boys have supper, which is more substantial than the morning meal, and we decide to have our own supper so that we may be ready to be present at the evening devotions which, we understand, the various grades plan and conduct in turn as part of their project activity work. When we return, we find that some of the students have already gathered for the services, which are to be held out of doors in a very attractive spot. The bell rings and the students quickly gather, seating themselves on the ground in view of the sunset sky. The students have entire charge of conducting evening worship. On this evening the smaller boys have planned it. The service opens with a prayer and the singing of a psalm, in which all join. Then the story of Samuel and Eli is told by one of the boys. Following this, it is dramatized, and everyone understands a little better the longing of Hannah, the attractiveness of Samuel, the weakness of Eli, and the wickedness of his sons. Even the battle between the Israelites and Philistines is staged, and we witness the consternation and subsequent death of Eli as he hears the terrible news of the defeat and death of his sons and the capture of the Ark. The service closes with both "armies" gathering to sing a translation of "Onward, Christian Soldiers," after which the headmaster pronounces the benediction.

We are told that evening prayers formerly occupied fifteen minutes, but since the children have taken charge, all seem to enjoy and to listen attentively throughout a forty-five-minute session. Obviously, in addition to better attention and interest, there is great character benefit in the development of initiative, planning, organizing, speaking in public, and increased Bible knowledge and interpretation.

After this service the older students assemble for an hour of supervised study under the direction of teachers who guide and stimulate the boys to overcome difficulties and attain the goals set up by their assignments. The smaller boys go to their dormitories and, depending on the lateness of the hour, either retire or have a story or song period conducted by a teacher.

When the study hour is over, quite a number of the boys assemble under the trees, and while some play instruments (which they frequently make themselves), the others join in singing psalms, bhajans, gazals, etc. The Punjab students have a very real love for music and singing and will sit for hours singing the songs dear to their hearts and keeping time with fire-tongs, cymbals, drums, or hollow earthen vessels. As we sit near by listening to them, under the starry sky, in the quiet impressiveness of an Eastern night, it all sounds wonderfully attractive to us, and we do not wonder that the boys love it.

The Panchayat

We notice that five of the young men separate themselves from their fellows and enter a near-by building. We ask the headmaster about this and he tells us that they constitute the Student Council, selected by their fellows to look after the general welfare of the school. Their duties especially concern the organization and supervision of the student body and its constituted committees, so as to see that the things necessary to the welfare of the school are properly cared for. They also have considerable oversight of the school plant, school discipline, and improvement of the institution's morale, spirit, and ideals. The constituted committees are those on sanitation and cleanliness, social life and entertainment, games and athletics, religious life and service, caring for the sick (hospital committee), and writing letters for small boys too young to write their own. These committees are also elected by the student body and approved by the staff.

The particular purpose of the meeting this evening is to consider the case of two boys who had suddenly left the school without permission, but who, after several days' absence, wished to return. This practice had become so prevalent that the headmaster thought it best to refer the matter to the Student Council. The Council, quite alive to the seriousness of the situation, discusses all its phases. At last they make their decision: that one of the students be permitted to return under certain definite conditions but that the other be not allowed to enter the school again. The headmaster is astonished at this, for the student whose application has been refused seemed the more promising of the two. When he expresses his surprise, the chairman replies, "We have come to this conclusion not because he was more guilty in running away from the school but because he is a boy of unclean mind and speech, whose influence is not good."

This courageous moral stand would be pleasing to any headmaster, but in this case it is particularly so because most of the boys come from the "outcaste" community and from the homes and surroundings that this represents.

Great as is the value of the panchayat, however, it is not permitted to lessen the social and communal responsibility of individual students. Rather it stimulates such responsibility. Christian comradeship and co-operation, responsible social freedom, interest in the work of others, a spirit of helpfulness and service, and a pride in the school and its work are ever kept before the students and the staff as standards to control and shape conduct.

Results of the Work at Moga

As we return to our rooms for the night, we feel that it has been a wonderful day, but we still have many questions to ask. One of these concerns the graduates and the type of work they do in other environments. The principal first of all shows us statistics regarding the Normal graduates. From 1922 to 1926, ninety-six students appeared for the Government examinations, and ninety-three passed. Of these, eighty-eight are teaching in schools, the whereabouts of two are unknown, and the other three are not teaching at present. Of the eighty-eight teachers, seventy-five are in village day or boarding schools, and thirteen are in other types of schools. The loyalty of these men to Moga and its ideals is shown primarily in the type of service they are rendering, in their desire to return to Moga for refresher courses, and inspirational meetings, in their eagerness to have Moga's representatives come to them to supervise, stimulate, and encourage. Another indication of their attachment to Moga is the Old Boys' Association recently organized with the avowed purpose of helping the school and spreading the "Moga spirit." The *Village Teachers' Journal* and other literature issuing from Moga keep them and others in touch with the school, and this is also true of the wider service of the school through both its staff and its students. This extension work has increased so widely and has taken so many forms that Moga is indeed the "Service Station" that it has been called. The principal tells us that the school is trying to live up to this characterization, both in its own locality and mission and throughout the province and the country.

As to the type of work the graduates do out in the village schools and communities, the principal refers us to the reports of several careful observers of their teaching and work. One deputation of three educators from South India spent several days visiting the villages and observing the work done in them. They wrote as follows:

> We visited a school about five miles out from Kasur where a teacher trained at Moga has been working for nine months only. There were 25 or 30 children, who were divided in groups according to the progress they have made. Many of them were quite up to our Third Standard in the three R's and with a knowledge of Scripture which would put many of our higher standard children to shame. We were struck everywhere by the enthusiasm and patience of the teachers, by their keenness on their work, and by their belief in and adherence to, the methods they had been taught in Moga.[6]

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[6] *Joint Report of the Two Deputations to Moga and Dornakal*, 1925.

In another village school visited, the building and furnishings were meager. The lighting was so poor that many of the pupils were working in the small courtyard. But their enthusiastic interest made the visitors forget the inadequate surroundings. The pupils were wide awake, keen, and absorbed in their work. They were clean and neatly dressed—in pajamas, shirt, and *pagri*. When examined in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Bible, they showed remarkable progress and were superior to two similar grades seen only a short time before in a boarding school. The most impressive thing, however, was the way they went about their work, for it was most evident that there was no drudgery here. The teacher was full of plans for the development of his school and the extension of its influence, and he was successfully mediating that enthusiasm both to his pupils and to a section of the community.

In further demonstration of work done by the graduates of Moga, we are shown reports of Moga supervisors who visit each of the village schools in the Mission three or four times each year and try not only to evaluate the work done but to help and inspire the teacher, bring him in touch with improved methods, co-operate with him in introducing these, bring the community in touch with the school, and promote more effective community service through the agency of the school. A supervisor spends several days in each school and, at the close of each week or two, calls together all the teachers of the schools of that circle for a conference or for observation of a particularly successful school. Meetings are also held for the villagers in order to secure their co-operation. After four or five weeks of such work, the supervisors return to Moga to report on their work, to make reports to district superintendents, to keep in touch with the Moga Training School, and thus get new ideas and fresh inspiration.

The singing and playing near the school hostels has long since ceased and the boys have retired to their well-earned rest, many of them sleeping out under the stars, and others in the verandahs and hostel rooms. The principal, too, bids us a pleasant good night.

We feel, however, that before retiring, we should like to think over some of the ideals and principles which we have today seen in the life and practices of this school. We recall its simplicity, its close relation to the life of the village, though on a higher level, its integration of literary, agricultural, and home industrial work, its combining of play, work, and appreciations in one unified whole, its emphasis on learning by doing and continuously improving the way of doing things, the variety and interest of the activities, its attempt to develop sympathetic understanding of the community in which the pupils live and the communities from which they have come, its emphasis upon developing the belief that these communities can be improved by intelligent, co-operative effort, particularly through the agency of the school and the teacher.

We recall, too, the happiness, keenness, and purposefulness of the students, their sense of responsibility, their self-direction and self-control, their self-help and self-reliance, their spirit of helpfulness, their sense of communal living and social solidarity, and the evident "leading on" qualities of their interests and activities. We bring to mind the closing words of the principal before he left us: "Our goal is the development of real men—young men of Christian character and personality; men with a vision of a regenerated village and faith that it can be made a reality; hard working men, filled with a spirit of service, who will not easily be discouraged though progress be slow; men of intelligence and resourcefulness; men who can inspire others with their vision and secure their co-operation. We have not, of course, attained any such results, but we are following after, and persistently working for, continuous improvement toward these ends. The future alone will show to what extent this work can carry over and persist in a depressing village environment, but we are confident, from what we have already observed and tested, that this type of education—arising out of the environment, supplemented by the pertinent, valuable resources of the world's wisdom, and so organized as to show the possibility of the transformation of village life—this type of education, when undertaken by enthusiastic, educated, and dedicated men, has far more possibilities of success than does the present educational system."

PART III

SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF VILLAGE LIFE WITH REFERENCE TO CURRICULUM-MAKING

CHAPTER X

THE PROVINCE AND ITS PEOPLE

PAST EDUCATIONAL experience in India, as outlined in the preceding chapters, has shown conclusively that the education of the future, in order to be of service to the people of India, must regard the child as central and all-important in the educational process and must seek to develop his potential abilities in definite relation to his environment.[1] The importance of environment as a determining factor in curriculum construction is thus obvious, and in this chapter and in those immediately following a careful study of those environmental elements which should be considered in connection with the school curriculum will be made with a view to determining which elements are desirable for educational ends and which elements education should set itself to correct.[2]

THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

The Punjab is shaped like a peninsula extending up into the northwest corner of the Indian Empire and is completely landlocked. On the north are the Northwest Frontier Province, Kashmir, Ladakh, and Tibet, and beyond these the deserts of Turkestan. On the west are Afghanistan and Baluchistan. On the south lie Bikaner and Rajputana, which are comparatively undeveloped and sparsely populated. To the east, however, are the United Provinces, which would offer a rich market for Punjab products if it did not produce much the same products as the Punjab. The Province thus has mountains or deserts on three of its boundaries and the border countries offer very few markets for its produce. Its nearest seaport is Karachi, 750 miles from Lahore. Its five rivers are not navigable for any considerable distance, and they give no access to the sea. In fact, in the heavy rains, they become serious obstacles to commerce.

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[1] See Chapter I and "Curriculum Principles" at the end of Chapter III.

[2] These chapters are not meant to be a complete social survey of the rural Punjab, but only to indicate in general the life, the interests, and the needs of the people with reference to the content and objectives of a rural school curriculum.

The scenery of the province is very diverse. The characteristic feature is the alluvial plain stretching away for miles until it is lost on the horizon. In the growing season, these plains are beautifully green with waving crops, but in the hot season the ground is baked to a hard, dull brown, almost desert-like in appearance. On the north and west are ranges of snow-capped mountains, and on three of the boundaries are desert wastes.

The climate and rainfall are very diverse also. The temperature varies from a mean maximum of 109 degrees in the summer on the plains down to 73 degrees on the mountains, and a mean minimum in the winter of 39 to 40 degrees on the plains to 34 degrees on the mountains. In other words, the summers are intensely hot and the winters are decidedly chilly. The rainfall ranges from an annual minimum of five or six inches in the southwest Punjab to a maximum of thirty-five inches in the east and north Punjab. The lower mountains have up to sixty inches. Most of this rain, however, falls during the southwest or summer monsoon (July to September), and relatively little rain occurs in other portions of the year, since the northeast or winter monsoon does not penetrate the Punjab. It has been found necessary, therefore, to supplement rainfall by an extensive system of canals tapping the rivers and turning waste lands into fertile cultivable fields.

Divisions of the Punjab

The differences in the rainfall and soil, together with the varying degrees of human ambition and enterprise, account, to a large degree, for the existing diversity of productiveness and wealth in the various districts of the province, which may be conveniently divided into the following six sections:[3]

The four submontane districts (Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, and Ambala), forming one section, have a fertile soil and good rainfall but are heavily indebted.

The Central Punjab, the largest section (seven districts) and the most characteristic part of the Punjab, has a virile peasantry, intelligent and industrious. The soil is fairly good, wells and canals help to mitigate the effects of a capricious rainfall, railways are satisfactory, and markets are plentiful; yet over 80 per cent of the landowners in this section are in debt, the average total debt being sixteen times the land revenue.

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[3] M. L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt,* (2nd ed., 1928), pp. 21-23.

The Canal Colonies (containing the Lyallpur, Shahpur, and Montgomery colonies), which were formerly waste tracts, have been changed through canal irrigation into what is now the richest agricultural land in India. The industry of the first settlers, the productiveness of the land, and the high prices of agricultural produce have brought prosperity to this section. Debt is relatively small (about four times the land revenue), and this despite the many initial expenses involved in breaking in new land and the undoubted higher standard of living in this section.

The North Punjab (Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Attock), where the climate is the best, has the worst system of irrigation in the Punjab. The people are sturdy, resourceful, and vigorous in character, and they make a hard fight for subsistence. When the rains fail and the crops are destroyed, the men join the army or seek their fortunes abroad. It is noteworthy that in this naturally unfavorable section (excluding Attock) the people's indebtedness is only about ten times the land revenue.

In the Western Punjab (Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan), where conditions border closely upon those of the desert and the rainfall is only five to eight inches, the people's dependence is upon the rivers, inundation canals, and a few wells. Insecurity dominates everything, and the people generally count upon two out of every five years as agriculturally bad. So scanty are the means of subsistence that, even including the towns, there are only ninety-nine people to the square mile. Considerable dependence is placed upon the date palm, which flourishes in dry years. Grazing is favored above agriculture, and the insecurity militates against agricultural development and tends toward thriftlessness.

The Southern Punjab (Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hissar, and Karnal), where conditions are more in accord with the United Provinces and Rajputana than with those of the Punjab, has a light rainfall (except in Karnal) and has been dominated by famine for centuries. Conditions are somewhat better now because of the Western Jumna Canal, but even yet the cattle mortality in dry years is very high. Life here is a constant struggle, for harvests are insecure and communication and markets comparatively undeveloped. Yet because of the industry and thrift of some of the people, debt is kept down to figures which compare favorably with the fertile regions of the Punjab—about fifteen times the land revenue.

While considerable diversity exists in these various large districts of the province, the greatest differences are to be found in the border sections; the vast solid mass of the Central Punjab is more nearly uniform in soil, climate, rainfall, people, customs, and methods of work.

It is also noteworthy that where the soil is fertile and conditions of life relatively easy, indebtedness tends to increase; and, on the other hand, that where there is a constant struggle for existence, the people are more thrifty and less in debt.

The People of the Punjab

Besides its great diversity in topography, soil, climate, and rainfall the Punjab is characterized by a striking diversity in race, with regard to origins, languages, beliefs, customs, and social structure. The dominant characteristics of the various tribal groups will be given in order to determine what elements of character should be strengthened by the educator and what should be counteracted or transformed.

The Jats are the largest and most important of the agricultural tribes of the Punjab. They number close to five and a half million (over one-fifth of the whole population) and are found scattered over the entire province. In religion the Jat may be Hindu, Moslem, or Sikh.[4] He is found in both rich and poor environments, and his characteristics vary accordingly. Fine in physique, tough in endurance, adventurous and courageous, endowed with a good business sense, he is considered by many the finest type of cultivator.[5] The Jat was among the first to break up the canal lands, and he is ready to venture abroad both in in-

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[4] These religions are discussed in Chapter XIII.

[5] As a settlement officer says, "Unremitting in toil, thrifty to the verge of parsimony, self reliant in adversity, and enterprising in prosperity, the Jat . . . is the ideal cultivator and revenue payer."—*Samrala Assessment Report, 1910,* p. 15. Quoted in Darling, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

Darling says that the Sikh Jat is "more adventurous if more commercial, the Mohammedan more patient if less industrious, and the Hindu more frugal and stubborn. . . . All three, however, have a tenacity of character and dustry and in the army. During the Great War he enlisted freely and fought well, but he loves the land and sooner or later he returns to it. His wife, too, is a decided economic help, for she not only looks after his house but also helps him in the fields. As to the effect of environment upon him, the Jat does better where there is something to struggle for, and in prosperous districts his energies may run to dissipation and strife. In unhealthy districts he is of course physically handicapped. In caste the Jats are generally socially below the Rajputs, but this is not true of the Sikh Jat of the Central Punjab, who recognizes no superior among the cultivators.

The Rajputs are the next largest Punjab tribe, numbering two and a third million. Like the Jats, they are of different religions and social systems. Moslems predominate among them, only about one-fourth being Hindus. They are most prominent in Rawalpindi, Kangra, and Jhang. Some of the Rajputs are descended from ruling and aristocratic families, and Rajputs generally are proud of their birth and their traditions. The Rajput is much more a soldier than he is a cultivator, and he has earned respect and fame in military matters. His response to the Great War was generous. As a cultivator his work is most indifferent. He does not plough any more or any deeper than is absolutely necessary; he is not careful in the selection of his crops; and the general condition of his fields indicates carelessness. As a matter of fact, the true Rajput has a contempt for the plough and almost prides himself upon his inefficiency as a cultivator. His wife does relatively little in the house and nothing outside to help her husband.[6]

> A pure Rajput to preserve his name and honor unsullied, must scrupulously observe four fundamental maxims: He must never drive the plough; he must never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior, nor marry himself much below his rank; he must never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter; and his female household must observe strict seclusion [purdah].[7]

The Rajput loves display and prestige, is generous in his hospitality, and spends freely in the case of a marriage or other

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a skill in farming which make them the best cultivators in India." *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

[6] Bhalla, *An Economic Survey of Bairampur*, pp. 45-46.

[7] *Kangra Gazetteer*, p. 710.

social function. He spends money unproductively and sometimes harmfully, and as a result he is heavily in debt. So deeply is he involved that in some sections he is beginning to lose his land to more industrious tribes.

The Gujars number more than three-fifths of a million and are probably descended from a tribe of Eastern Tartars, who, in the early Christian centuries, ruled over a large part of the Punjab. Gujarat is their stronghold. The Gujars of the Punjab are found chiefly in the riverain lowlands and submontane tracts. Their natural occupation is grazing, and when they take to cultivation they usually do it badly, since they are devoid of both skill and energy. All this is partly due to environmental conditions, for, when the river behaves itself and leaves rich alluvial mud, the smallest amount of labor and skill will yield a good harvest; but when a big flood sweeps down, fields, cattle, and houses disappear and only sand remains. Little wonder that offerings are still made to the river-god and that he is mentioned with superstitious awe. Little wonder that man feels his insecurity to be so great that he does not see much use in building good houses or making permanent improvements. The following description, written many years ago, is still true in the main, with the possible exception of Zira, where there are a few signs of improvement:

> They [the Dogars, Gujars, and Bhattis] take not the slightest pride or interest in any agricultural pursuit; their fields are cultivated in the most slovenly manner; you see none of the neatly kept houses, well fenced fields, fat bullocks, and wells kept in good repair, which distinguish the industrious castes, but the hovels in which they live are generally half in ruins; no fences ever protect their fields, their cattle are half starved, and their walls often in the most dilapidated condition.[8]

In addition to being poor agriculturists, some of these graziers are given to cattle-stealing. This is said to be more common in riverain tracts. Improvidence, incompetence in money matters leading to debt, and a happy-go-lucky attitude toward life are also prevalent characteristics.

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[8] *Ferozepur Settlement Report,* 1853, p. 4. Quoted in Darling, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-68.

The Arains, who number more than a million, are largely Moslems and are found throughout the Cis-Indus Punjab. They are more humble in origin than the castes which have been mentioned, and in the West Punjab they are little better than menials. They are, however, among the most skillful and industrious of agriculturists and are especially successful as market gardeners. The Arain is accustomed to hard and heavy work and carries on intensive cultivation, producing more to the acre than any other tribe. He is frugal, almost impecunious, selling the best foods and keeping the poorest for his own needs. His physique is less sturdy than that of the Jat and "his mind as narrow as the plots he cultivates."[9] He does not have much ability in business; he has little enterprise beyond his gardening; and he is highly susceptible to environmental influence—a fact which accounts for his debts in some parts of the Province where the higher castes are extravagant. His wife is not so good a manager of the house or so helpful as the "Jatni," and she usually has more children to look after. "Arains were largely selected for the Chenab Colony, and Lyallpur now contains more Arains than any other district except Jullundur and Lahore."[10]

The Ahirs, who once enjoyed considerable local importance in Gurgaon, have largely given up their hereditary occupation as herdsmen to become cultivators. They are hampered by a poor soil, but their industry and frugality are such that they earn enough to live and to keep out of debt. Like the Jats and Arains they are a people whose moral fibre has been strengthened by adversity.

In great contrast to them are their neighbors, the Meos, who, with a much richer soil, are heavily in debt. This is due to their being careless, restless, improvident, and extravagant. There are few parts of the province where the money lender is more firmly entrenched or where a harder struggle will be needed to secure economic freedom.

The Mahtons are a small tribe who, despite small holdings and handicaps, have made their way by toil and careful economy. "Eating barley in order that they may sell their wheat, grinding up the seeds of their melons to mix with their flour and giving the rind to the cattle that nothing may be wasted,"[11] they are able to progress much better than many others much more favorably situated.

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[9] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[10] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 328.

The Balochis and Pathans, especially near the frontiers, still live under their tribal organization and keep many of their national characteristics. The Balochis, who number half a million, prefer grazing cattle. They are usually keen horsemen, and are courageous, hospitable, and true to their word. They are not industrious however; their cultivation is poor, thrift is at a discount, and there is little foresight. Because of the uncertain action of rivers and mountain streams and the small rainfall, there is great insecurity, and this has led to carelessness and improvidence. In religion they are relatively free from bigotry. The Pathans are found in portions of the Attock tahsil and in Mianwali district in considerable numbers, and are sparsely scattered over the Punjab. In Attock, despite difficult farming conditions, these people are industrious and enterprising, supplementing their income by other occupations or by emigration. They are usually frugal, their only extravagance being the funeral feast, at which the whole village is entertained.

As to the language used by the various tribes, the most common colloquial language is Punjabi, although there are many other languages spoken. Urdu is the polished language of the towns and is the most popular of the literary languages. The largest number of vernacular books in the Punjab are published in this language, and it is, in general, the medium of instruction in the schools.

A brief, valuable summary of the average Punjab peasant proprietor, whom Mr. Darling believes to be "the finest raw material to be found in any part of India," is given in the following description:

> Ignorant, no doubt, and unimaginative, and with a mind that is often as empty as the horizon that surrounds him, he has all the virtues of a life spent in constant battle with the forces of nature. As tenacious as he is patient, the more he is buffeted the harder he works, and, when circumstances are too strong for him, he will often join the army or seek his fortune abroad. . . . Like all who live in primitive surroundings, he is hospitable to strangers, and, if sometimes a quarrel-

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[11] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

some neighbor—he dearly loves a case in the courts—he is on the whole faithful to his wife and humane to his kin. Like the winter stream of the river upon which he often lives, he is sluggish in mind, but, like the same river in summer, when roused he will overflow with an energy and force that make him as dangerous to his oppressor in peace as he is to his enemy in war. He will then stick at nothing, and the very spirit that makes him the finest soldier in India renders him also capable of the most desperate crime. Otherwise he is sober enough, with a shrewd picturesque humor which makes his language a joy to those who delight in vivid expression. He is rarely extravagant (except when he is marrying a child), though he is nearly always improvident; and in his way he is industrious, toiling, if need be, under a sun that would kill the thin-skulled white. . . . To three things he is passionately attached: his religion, his family, and his land . . . India is still in the static state, and, if we may believe Professor Mukerji, its village communities are the most contented in the world. This contentment, however, is largely based upon ignorance of anything better, and as knowledge and education spread, may turn into something very different, unless it can be placed upon the sure foundation of civilized life. Already in the Punjab, and most of all in the colonies, there are signs that the process has begun, and that men are no longer satisfied with the rude conditions of the past, and are beginning to consider how life can be improved. We are, in fact, upon the threshold of the evolutionary stage, and no moment could be more propitious for the introduction of the idea of progress.

But we shall do well to remember the deep spiritual forces underlying Indian mental conceptions, and, if possible, to infuse into the idea something that will lift it above the mere satisfaction of physical needs.[12]

The Village Child

The purpose of the social analysis in this and in later chapters is to indicate the life from which the Indian child comes when he enters school, the life which continues to influence him during his school years, and the life to which he will eventually return, equipped, as far as education can do so, for a happy life of service in his home environment. It is equally important to understand the actual characteristics of the Indian child himself. It must be remembered throughout that there is no average child and that no two children are alike. It must also be remembered that there has as yet been little scientific study of the

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, 173.

Indian child and that at present we are forced to rely upon the observation and experience of teachers. While it is obvious that many characteristics of the Indian child are not peculiar to him but are common to all childhood, such characteristics will be given here in order to present as complete a picture as possible.

Play is doubtless the greatest developmental force of childhood, and this is true even in an Indian village where the child's opportunities for play are limited. In spite of lack of proper equipment, of guidance, and sometimes of other children to play with, the Indian child finds his own materials of sand, clay, wood, cloth, etc., which he fashions to his will. Like all children he is fond of taking things apart and building up something that he believes worth while. He will build houses of mud-bricks or sand; he will make shops or gardens, ox-carts or cattle huts. He tries to make the same things that the potter does, or the carpenter, or the weaver.

Imaginative play also appeals to an Indian child. To him it is not mere make-believe; he becomes for the time being what he represents. He not only imitates but he also projects his personality into the new objective form, and he desires to be treated and spoken of in his "dressed-up" rôle. He does not distinguish clearly between the real and the fancied. From this arises the desire to act out the stories he has heard, or even to originate plays suggested by something he has seen. Indian children have natural gifts in this regard; not only do they find great enjoyment in dramatizing, but they do it remarkably well. They are also very fond of stories which have action and dramatic interest.

The most natural form of play, however, is mere bodily activity—the desire to run about, to chase one another, to imitate living things, to play games of an individual or slightly co-operative nature—free play, dramatic games, and guessing games. The Indian child ordinarily does not get enough of these and thus misses their valuable lessons of co-operation, social control, and fair play.

Mentally, the life of the village child is very narrow and circumscribed. He is interested in people and in their activities. His is a world of action confined to his family and friends. For this reason there is often a big gap between his home experience and his school experience, so that the latter is scarcely understood. When a language difficulty is added to this—when a different language is used in school from that which he has always heard at home, he gets wrong conceptions of what the teacher thinks is clearly expressed, and naturally he has the greatest difficulty in expressing himself.

In spite of this, however, he is both receptive and responsive and is therefore open to instruction and easy to discipline. In fact, these very qualities have sometimes prevented his getting the most out of his education, because the teacher has been content to have the child give back what has been passively learned. Closely associated with this is the Indian child's ability to memorize. As indicated in previous chapters, this ability is due partly to early training and partly to what seems to be a strong racial tradition. Memorizing was the educational method of the past and the means of handing down learning and tradition. The remarkable ability of the Indian child to memorize many pages of material, is one that may easily lead to faulty and harmful methods of instruction.

Indian children are inclined to be more meditative and introspective than Western children, and while these are valuable qualities which may be skillfully used and developed by the teacher, they make it advisable to stress activity and social intercourse more than would otherwise be necessary.

Like all children, the village child has a desire to explore and investigate, to find out all that he can about everything that comes into his experience. This curiosity is one of the great opportunities of education. He also has a passion for collecting—a characteristic which, unguided, may be useless and wasteful, but which, used for educational ends, leads to ethical, aesthetic, and scientific gain. The village child has strong sense perceptions; he wishes to handle objects, to hear music, to look at pictures and other beautiful things. He also wishes to express himself through his various senses, and herein lies the best approach to impression and to creative expression.

Emotionally, the Indian child is very susceptible to his surroundings and to his social environment. He is also affectionate and has a great respect for his teacher. Often he is considerably influenced by a teacher whom he cares for. His imagination is vivid; his sense of wonder is great; he has imbibed some of the fears associated in the village with natural objects and with religion; he has a quick perception and appreciation of simple, spiritual truths. His faith and trust in those he knows and cares for are open doors for the entrance of moral and religious truth and high conceptions of life.

His love of nature is very strong, and he delights in growing and living things and in observing and caring for them. This is partly due to the sensory appeal of movement, color, sound, etc.; to the place of nature in religion and tradition; and to the Hindu attitude toward life and all living things. An important aspect of nature study is that it helps the child to define things more accurately and assists him to distinguish between the real and the imaginary. Vivid imagination and credulity regarding the unseen world are strong in village life, and are brought under control only through exact observation of objects, knowledge of the laws of nature, and wider contacts with people.

Socially, the communal ideal—the desire to be with others, to talk with them, play with them, work with them is very strong in the village child, and these should all be utilized in school more than they have been. Another social trait, imitation, which has already been mentioned in connection with play, is one in which the Indian child is very apt. This should not remain mere mechanical copying, but should be guided to selective, purposive educational ends. The desire for approval and commendation are as strong in the Indian child as in any other, and closely related to it is the power of leadership, which in its simplest elements is seen even in children. This trait should be stimulated in Indian children, especially in the improving of their own achievements, for the natural village tendency is to rest content with one's own position and status.

Inferences for Curriculum-Making

The following principles for curriculum construction may be inferred from the various factors reviewed in this chapter: (1) the great variety of the Punjab in geography, topography, climate, and soil, as well as the great variety of its people, shows clearly the futility of broad generalizations and of highly standardized educational systems, for, obviously, education, to be effective, must take cognizance of differences in environment, race, religion, and tradition, (2) the predominantly rural occupations of the people necessitate an educational system designed to meet rural needs;[13] (3) the problem of bilingualism needs careful investigation. At present pupils who speak only Punjabi at home must begin Urdu when they come to school. If their education is continued beyond the Middle Standard, they must also learn to use English.[14] An adequate scientific understanding of the types of difficulty involved in learning new languages is necessary, as is also a knowledge of the best pedagogical methods for reducing the difficulties of learning. An investigation also needs to be made into the effects of bilingualism upon creative thinking. The extent to which literary languages should be studied in school in order to profit by their rich heritage, while yet retaining the power of thinking and creating in the colloquial tongue, needs also to be studied; (4) the best qualities of character to be found in both children and adults need to be understood and appreciated. Such qualities are the enterprise, endurance, industry, thrift, and courage of the Jat, the Arain, and the Ahir. At the same time unfavorable qualities such as extravagance, improvidence, superstition, static contentment, etc., should be overcome or transformed; (5) a scientific study of the Indian child is needed, and this will necessitate close observation on the part of the teacher and some exact record of observations. A good method is to keep an index card for each child, noting thereon various facts regarding his interests, characteristics, capacities, etc.; (6) there should be utilization of the special abilities and natural capacities of the Indian child, such as his vivid imagination, his dramatic and musical ability, his receptivity, his meditative tendency, his communal sense, his tendency to imitate, his love of nature, his emotional capacity, his strong passive characteristics, his susceptibility to spiritual influences; (7) special effort should be made to develop qualities that tend to be weak in the Indian child, such as initiative, self-reliance, progressiveness, socialization and service, practical accomplishment; (8) observation of the Indian child would seem to indicate that he stands in special need of directed play and other exercise, which should involve the larger muscles rather than the smaller accessory muscles not yet developed in the primary child, and which should not be too vigorous lest the undeveloped heart of the child be unable to stand the strain; (9) while the constructive impulse in all children is invaluable for educational purposes, it is especially important in the case of the Indian child because of his tendency to passivity and contemplation. Like all children, the Indian child is easily interested in making things. Girls are more interested than boys in furnishing a house, but boys like to make articles of furniture and may even become interested in modeling dolls, making clothes, etc. This desire to construct things is closely related to artistic expression and while such expression may be crude, it has possibilities of considerable import for indigenous art and should be encouraged, guided, and developed; (10) the Indian child needs, too, a study of nature and of the world about him which enables him to distinguish between the real and the imaginary and fits him to adjust himself to the facts of life rather than to sink into the fatalistic passivity which is all too common; (11) finally, special efforts should be made to connect his school experience with his home experience to the end that he may really enter into and understand his school life, and also to connect his narrow village existence with the wider life of the nation and of the world.

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[13] This has been more fully stated on pp. 83, 103, 120-21, and in Chap. IX.

[14] For full discussion of the problem of English, see p. 68.

CHAPTER XI

THE VILLAGE: HOME AND HEALTH

The Village Home

In the Punjab, because of the climate, housing is of less importance than food or even clothes. The people live a great deal out of doors. Women often do their cooking, spinning, and other domestic tasks in a verandah or a court-yard, and men engaged in home industries do much of their work out of doors. Even in the intensely hot weather, the protection of a tree is preferred to that of the house, and the latter is used chiefly in cold or rainy seasons.

The ordinary village home is a mud-walled, flat-roofed, one-story structure, containing but a single room. It is usually about ten and a half by twenty feet in outside dimensions, and sometimes has a small, sloping verandah attached to it. The better houses also have small courtyards surrounded by high, mud-plastered walls. The courtyard is a very important part of the village home. Part of it is kept for the cattle, a small shed being sometimes built for them. That portion of it which is against a wall of the house or in a small verandah may be reserved as an outside place for cooking. During the day the string beds are moved out into the courtyard and serve as chairs. The courtyard is the family gathering place—the place for smoking and for conversation. The *huqqa,* or water tobacco pipe, is an essential part of every house and is a bond of fellowship and sociability. To share the *huqqa* with another signifies social equality and social communion. To be shut out from smoking with one's group or caste is one of the most dreaded and most effective of social inhibitions.

In the house itself, the walls of which are often a foot thick, there is usually only one door, often so low that one must stoop to enter. There are frequently no windows at all, for these are considered dangerous both because of the possibility of catching cold and because of fear of thieves or enemies. Occasionally there are small ventilators—a brick or two left out of the walls—but in all the houses the area of the door and ventilators is very small compared with the total area of the house. The lighting and ventilation are extremely poor, particularly at night when the door is locked and bolted. The only artificial light in many houses is that secured from a small saucer (*diva*) containing a round wick in mustard oil. In the better houses, however, there are sometimes lanterns.

The floor of the house is of earth pounded hard and then coated with a wash of cow-dung to keep down the dust. This lasts well, for the people take off their shoes before entering. The outside walls and the roof are treated in the same way as the floors, being plastered and then coated with the cow-dung preparation to protect them from the weather. The flat roof has a slight coping of mud, and through this coping are run small pieces of pipe or bamboo, which carry the water from the roof. Such water merely drops to the ground with a splash, for there is no attempt at drainage about the house. In hot weather members of the family sleep on the roof. It is also used at times for the drying of various crops.

The house furnishings are very simple. In each of them there is a bin (*kothi*) built against the wall. It is made of mud, has a small door and is used for storing grain. There are also large earthen jars (*mattis*) in which crude brown sugar (*gur*), pulses, and other foodstuffs are kept. Among the other furnishings are a spinning wheel (*charkha*), a hand-mill (*chakki*) for grinding grain into flour, and often a small machine for separating cotton seeds from the raw cotton (*belna*). The beds are made of bamboo and are strung with ropes; usually there is one for each adult member of the family. Bedding usually consists of a small cotton rug (*durrie*), which takes the place of a mattress; a blanket; a somewhat heavy cotton spread (*kes*). A comforter (*razai*) may take the place of the blanket. There are usually no pillows or sheets. The blankets are long and are wrapped around the sleeper, usually covering his head as well, for the Punjabi believes that no part of the body should be uncovered in the cold weather. The beds are generally used as chairs during the daytime, although small stools made of reeds are found in some houses. These may also be a chest for storing away clothes.

The fireplace is an open one about three or four bricks high, built up with mud. There is no chimney, the smoke going out

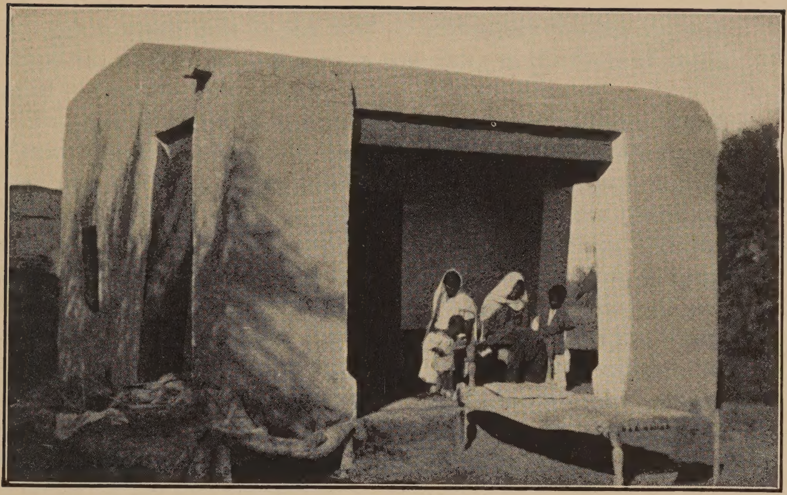

Plate XIII—A Village House of the Better Type

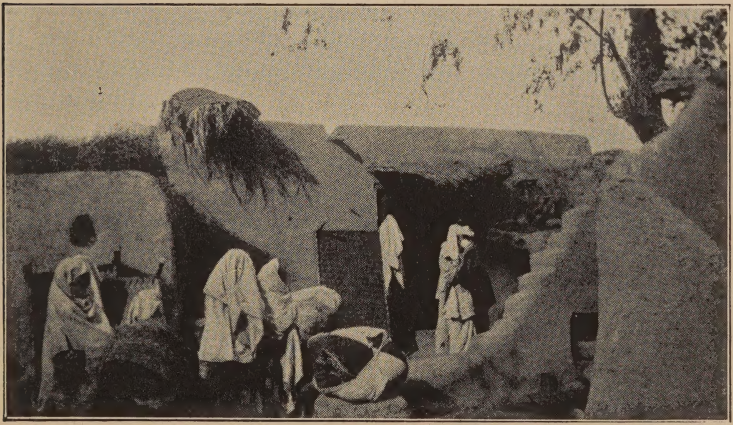

Plate XIV—A Congested Section of a Punjab Village

through a small hole in the roof or ultimately finding its way out of the door. Fuel is generally cow-dung in the form of cakes dried in the sun.

The necessary bowls and vessels in the poorer homes are of glazed clay or combination metal; in the more wealthy homes they are of brass. As the food is eaten with the fingers and as there are not many different kinds of food, few dishes are necessary. Certain little necessary tools used in connection with the cooking are fire-tongs, an instrument to blow the fire, a large spoon, a convex iron plate on which to bake flat bread, etc. There are also water pots (*lotas*) and the vessel (*dol*) in which to draw water from the village well. A unique and inexpensive type of churn (*madhani*) is common. It consists of an earthen vessel and an upright piece of wood with paddle-like protrusions, which is whirled rapidly by the winding and unwinding of a rope attached to the upright piece.

The houses of extensive landowners are usually larger and are partly or entirely built of burnt brick. They have a larger courtyard and possibly a small garden. There may also be special provision for guests. Even in these larger houses, however, one common room is used much more than the others, which become little more than storerooms. Although these houses are better furnished, judged by urban standards they would be considered meagre and simple.

Despite the mud floors and walls, many of the village homes look very clean and neat, for the floor is swept frequently and is often given a new *gobr* coat (wash of plaster and cow-dung). This is not so true of the courtyard, which is often untidy and unsanitary. There is little in the way of an artistic touch about these houses. There are occasionally cheap, brightly colored religious pictures, and sometimes painted on the plastered walls of a house there will be crude representations of animals. Designs may also be drawn on the floors or on a portion of the courtyard. The Moslems, however, are opposed, for religious reasons, to all pictures and representations. The shape and design of some of the brass and even of the earthen vessels are most attractive. Other aesthetic features found in a few of the better homes are decorated dishes, both clay and brass, fancy wooden chests, carved figures, etc.

On some of the buildings there are curious paintings, and the architecture of mosque, temple, or shrine is often beautiful and interesting. The finest Mohammedan architecture (Pathan and Tughlaq), is to be found at or near Delhi. Examples of the former show Hindu influences and even contain materials taken from Hindu temples, but the latter have a massive grandeur and austerity which is quite free from indigenous elements. The Moghals did a great deal of very fine building work, the best Punjab examples of which are to be found at Lahore and Delhi. The southwest Punjab developed an architectural style of its own, distinguished by a blue and white tile decoration.

Clothing

Compared with other parts of India, the people of the Punjab need to wear more clothing in winter. In December and January the early morning and the night temperatures are cold, and there are sometimes piercing winds. The poor people often have only thin cotton clothes, and, in the cold weather, a blanket about the shoulders. The men wear a *langotee* or *dhoti* (cloth fastened around the waist and drawn up between the legs); a turban of limited dimensions; sometimes a cotton scarf about the shoulders; a waistcoat; and occasionally shoes. Considerable country cloth (*khaddar*) has been used for clothing since Mahatma Gandhi began his boycott of foreign cloth and his spinning-wheel campaign. People in better circumstances have shoes, *kurtas* (shirts), and a warmer and better quality of clothing generally. Trousers and "shorts" have become more popular recently, and more coats are worn.

The women wear voluminous pajamas and a short waist or longer *kurta*. In the colder weather a sort of waistcoat is worn. A *chaddar* (head covering) is always a necessity. Shoes are often worn. In wealthier homes the women have similar clothes, but the materials are better, and the shoes, *chaddars*, and clothes are often skillfully embroidered. Very young children often run about without clothes in the hot weather or wear only a *kurta*. As they become older, they wear clothes similar to their parents.

Food

In times of sufficiency the farmer has three meals each day; the early morning meal being lighter than the other two. This meal (*cha-wela*) is carried out to the man in the fields between eight and nine in the morning. It consists of *chapatties* (flat, thin, unleavened bread), pickles or curds, and buttermilk. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, he returns to his home to feed and water the cattle and then eats his mid-day meal (*roti-wela*), consisting of *chapatties* with *dal* (lentils) and occasionally vegetable curry. The evening meal is eaten at about seven or eight o'clock and consists of food like that of the noon meal. Wheat is often used in making the bread, but sometimes millet, barley, or mixed grain is used. In the winter maize flour and mustard greens are popular. *Lassi* (buttermilk) is the staple drink all the year. There is a marked sameness about the diet, and bulk is stressed rather than variety and balance. The food is especially lacking in proteins, butter fat, and fresh vegetables. Mangoes and melons are eaten in season, but fruit is not a regular part of the diet. Insufficient milk is consumed, particularly by babies and small children.

Every day the milk is boiled; later it is churned and butter and *lassi* secured. The butter is used for preparing *ghi* (clarified butter), which is usually sold. Vegetable oil, when cheap, is used for frying cakes and vegetables. Meat is eaten at times by Moslems but most Hindus are vegetarians. A recent development in some Punjab districts is the drinking of tea, a habit introduced by the returned soldiers.

There are periods, however, in parts of the Punjab practically all the time and in other places during times of scarcity, when some people must live on a hard and pinching diet, equal to about one meal a day. Such scarcity of food is frequently the lot of the outcaste, who even partakes at times of carrion in order to secure some meat. Such under-nourishment makes the people susceptible to disease and accounts in part for the high mortality in epidemics.

HOUSEHOLD SANITATION

Aside from sweeping her house and keeping her cooking vessels clean, the village woman knows little about household sanitation and hygiene. This is seen in the lack of drainage about the house; the spitting in the courtyard and sometimes in the house; the nearness of animals and animal wastes and at times also the bodily wastes of children; the indifference to flies, mosquitoes, and rats and to the damage they do; the lack of precautions regarding the eating of raw food and the storing of food; carelessness regarding the sanitary purity of drinking water and milk; the lack of knowledge and care regarding the spreading of infection (sore eyes, colds, skin diseases, etc.); crowded quarters, inadequate lighting, sun, and ventilation; lack of knowledge regarding infants, children and their care; unsanitary conditions and inadequate attention at childbirth; a wrong conception of disease; and a defective understanding of the need for a balanced diet, adequate sleep, and sufficient recreation.

The Hindu Family

The traditional form of the Hindu family is the communal or joint family. Various causes are now working together to weaken and destroy this type of organization, so that there are at present relatively few (about one-fourth) families living together in this way. A true joint family is one in which the male members, married and unmarried, remain at home and have everything in common, all income being put into a single fund and all expenses being paid out of this. Joint living emphasized the family and social bond; it protected the weak, the sickly, the unemployed, and the aged; it distributed the burden of any special heavy expenditures, such as marriages, funerals, etc.; it emphasized unselfish service for the good of all; and it kept the moral sense alive. On the other hand, it often served to increase dependence, irresponsibility, and laziness; it complicated the bringing up and disciplining of children, and it often put the young wife and mother in a very subservient position; it prevented one from enjoying to the full the fruits of his own labor, and it was not a stimulus to economic progress. Where housing accommodation was limited, the congregation of such a large number of people also mitigated against health and privacy. Whether one regrets it or not, this close communal relationship is passing. Competition, the struggle for existence, and the desire to be relieved of heavy marriage expenses are serving to break it down.

Individual rural families are usually fairly large, there being an average of from four to six members per family.[1]

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[1] Lucas found 4.64 in Kabirpur. See *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, p. 39; Bhalla found over 4.8 in Bairampur. See *An Economic Survey of*

THE WORK OF THE FAMILY

The work of the home is done chiefly by the mother. The children do practically no work in the household up to the age of six. Above this age they give some help. The boys graze cattle, looking after them at home to some extent; they also run errands. As they grow older they help in the fields, especially at busy seasons; but full field work is not expected from them until they are about fifteen or sixteen. Help is taken from the girls at an earlier age than it is from the boys. They help with the housework, carry the *cha-wela* meals to the fields, dust the house, look after the babies, carry water from the village well, and work at the spinning wheel. Sometimes they do sewing as well. At times they are married and have the responsibilities of motherhood at sixteen or seventeen years of age. There is altogther too little of real childhood in the villages and too much of responsibility and labor placed upon children.

The father, if a farmer, gets up early in the morning, between four and five o'clock, and hurries off to the fields without taking any food until between eight and nine. At this time the cattle are not unyoked from the plough, the farmer usually finishes the meal, which is brought to him, hurriedly and then works until eleven or eleven-thirty. During the busiest season he also eats the noon meal out in the field, but generally he drives the cattle home. They are then unyoked, watered, and fed by some member of the family. The farmer washes or bathes and then eats his meal. Afterward he either rests or goes to the common gathering place for a talk and a smoke. He returns to the fields about three o'clock or a little later, and then works until sunset. When he returns home at night, the cattle are again looked after by some member of the family. Boys and men do very little work in the home, and so the father rests and smokes until the evening meal is ready. After this, with *huqqa* in hand, he visits some neighbor or goes to the place where most of the men gather and there converses for an hour or so on all sorts of matters. He retires for the night between nine and ten o'clock. While this is a

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Bairampur, p. 136; Jack found 5.7 for families living in comfort and 4.5 for those in poorer circumstances. See *The Economic Life of a Bengal District.* For the whole British Punjab the population has increased from 16.9 millions to 20.7 millions within the past 40 years, or about 22 per cent. See Darling, *op. cit.,* p. 284.

fairly busy day, the farmer does not continue this throughout the year. There are seasons when there is practically no work in the fields, or only enough for part of a day. In total hours this has been calculated to be the equivalent of nearly a half year.

Religion in the Home

Religion so permeates life and regulates the ordinary interests, activities, and outlook of Indians that it is natural it should have a large place in the home. The choice of a bride; the time of the wedding; the ceremony itself; the petitions and offerings for a son; the rejoicing and ceremonies at his birth; the bestowal of the sacred thread; the ceremonies for a dead relative, etc., are all intimately bound up with religion.

In orthodox Hindu homes homage is paid to the household god morning and evening. Offerings are made, *mantras* repeated and bells sounded.[2] Many of these acts are performed with real devotion and religious feeling.

Recreation in the Home

Villagers are very fond of instrumental music and of singing and will sit for hours both listening and taking part in these. The instruments are simple, mostly homemade; but much satisfaction is secured from their use. The men sometimes engage in folk dances or in extemporized dances. They have special ability in dramatics and they enjoy the dramas which they prepare themselves, as well as the longer and more finished productions of traveling actors. The story teller is also very popular, and men and women will sit for hours listening to stories regarding the history of their country, the lives of their great men, their religion, and their literature.

Traveling entertainers are always welcome. There is the magician, who is often very clever and does seemingly impossible things; the acrobats, with their twistings, turnings, and handsprings; the snake charmer, with his deadly cobra, karait, or viper kept under control by weird playing and drumming; and the performing monkeys, goats, or bears.

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[2] See Chapter XIII for a discussion of the religions of India.

Family Budgets

The villager has no idea of keeping accurate records and accounts, and he has little knowledge as to how he is coming out at the end of the year. He has no idea of budgeting his income or his expenditures; of planning for the most advantageous ways of selling his produce, or of buying the things he needs. He usually sells his grain in the village when everyone is selling it and the price is low. For part of the year at least he buys it back at a high price. In fact, the average villager's knowledge of what he has produced or of what his family spends is mostly an approximation, but investigators have endeavored to check up the figures from various angles.

Family budgets are valuable in that they indicate what the farmer is earning; what he is spending his income for; and whether he is saving something or getting behind. Even when a man has a debt, the essential thing to know is whether he is getting further and further behind or is making some progress in paying it off.

A study of family budgets will reveal how hard the struggle for life really is. From 60 to over 80 per cent of the villager's income is spent for food, which indicates something of the general standard of living. Aside from food, life is very meagre and simple. Investigation has revealed that at least 3½ annas (7c) is absolutely necessary each day for food if a person is to continue healthy. On this basis, two adults would require Rs. 159 for food each year; and on the basis of 2½ annas as a daily minimum for children, Rs. 57 would be required for each child in the family. A study of the typical budgets submitted will show that many of the people are not securing enough food to maintain their vitality.[3]

Outstanding Family Traits

Yet despite the poverty and struggle for existence in most of these village homes, one is impressed with their generous hospitality. Even the casual visitor is welcomed, is given a seat in a comfortable place and is offered some kind of refreshment.

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[3] See Appendix, I.

If a relative is in need, hospitality and help are quickly forthcoming, and old age is accorded a respect amounting almost to veneration. Another impressive characteristic is the patient resignation with which the people shoulder their burdens and carry on the struggle. This is probably a result of their religious philosophy, and while it has its weak side, there is also much quiet strength in it. Along with this is the communal spirit, the willingness to pool their fortunes and to work co-operatively, to stand or fall together as a family, to combine efforts and funds to a common end.

The love for children (especially boys) is noticeable, and though the type of care given may not be the best for their development, it is actuated by real affection for the child. If it results in failure, it is that of the head rather than of the heart.

The mystic idealism, the strong religious sense and devotion, the firm belief in a spiritual world, the influence of ancient traditions and of religious devotion, combine to form an atmosphere in the home which has in it much of worth and many potential possibilities. The broad sense of tolerance, the willingness to hear various presentations of religion and of other controversial subjects are also attractive traits.

Village Health and Sanitation

It has been apparent in the description of the village home that sanitary measures are relatively non-existent, and the same is true of the village as a whole.

The village houses are all built facing inwards so that their backs form a sort of protective wall about the village. This was doubtless necessary in former times when invaders and roving, thieving bands troubled the villagers. The houses are built close together, and the whole village is made as compact as possible. This, of course, makes for lack of both sun and air, and fosters the generally unsanitary conditions of village life.

Water is secured from wells, which are not always fully protected from surface contamination or cleaned as often as they should be. People also drink water at times from canals, irrigation channels, tanks, and running streams, because of a tradition that running water purifies itself! There is frequent carelessness with regard to the water used in rinsing out the mouth or washing the teeth, this sometimes being done in the stream or tank where people are bathing or even where animals are wallowing. The securing of good drinking water is especially difficult for people of the depressed classes since they are forbidden to use the village wells from which the caste people draw water.

Most villages have a village tank—a large depression or excavated place in which rain water collects and usually the drainage from the village as well. As the sanitary arrangements in the village are most meagre and as the open fields are used as latrines, the drainage into this tank is often filthy and dangerous. Cows and buffaloes also wade in it; yet despite all this, clothes are often washed and people bathe there. This is not because their physical habits are dirty, for among most of the castes the reverse is the case. The people bathe frequently and regularly, but they do not realize how impure running water can be, and they do not always put on clean clothes after bathing.

Clothes are usually washed by pounding them with the hands or with a stick or by swinging them over the head and bringing them down with force on a flat stone. Soap is not much used. The salvation for health, however, is the hot sun in which the clothes are dried.

The village tanks, as well as other low places in the village and fields, are breeding places for mosquitoes, and little is done to prevent the multiplying of these dangerous pests.

The main street of the village, on which the shops are found, is usually about ten or twelve feet wide. It is fairly straight, but the narrow lanes, two and a half to four feet wide, twist and turn in curious ways. There is usually no attempt at drainage, the rain or refuse running out from the courtyards and down the middle of the street until it reaches the tank or the lowest land about the village. In the rainy season the streets are filthy. There are few drains, and these are frequently clogged with refuse. Even the main street is often littered with rubbish. The sacred and stray cattle roam up and down the street, sometimes eating the grain and green vegetables displayed in the shops, which generally extend out into the street. The foodstuffs for sale, including milk, curds, sugar cane, sweets, etc., are seldom protected from dust or flies.

Just outside the village there is usually a large pile of refuse, waiting to be carted to the fields—an excellent breeding place for flies. Walking about without shoes in this refuse and the ground into which it has penetrated, often results in hookworm infection. Such unsanitary conditions, along with the methods used in storing grain and food, bring many rats, which are always a potential source of danger in villages subjected to repeated visits of plague.

There is no village committee or official responsible for the sanitation and health of the village. There are, however, in four districts of the Punjab, medical officers of health. Elsewhere these duties are discharged by civil surgeons and their subordinates. In 1913, Government instituted a scheme for the training of sanitary inspectors with the purpose of making them available to local bodies. Epidemic disease is dealt with by health officers and the medical staff of districts working under the orders of the Director of Public Health. Plans are also being made now for more extensive medical inspection of school children. In 1918 a Drainage Board was constituted which is studying the whole problem of water-logging and of drainage.[4]

Lack of Medical Facilities

Another difficulty in the health situation in the villages is the lack of medical practitioners and of dispensaries. These are to be found in towns and large villages, but the smaller and more remote places are without such advantages. It is sometimes necessary to make a long journey to secure medical help.[5] The result is that people rely upon the village barber or some similar person, or upon charms, offerings, sacred texts, and superstitious practices to ward off or to cure disease. At times they are able to secure a *hakim*, versed in indigenous medical knowledge, who utilizes herbs, vegetable compounds, and medical treatments which have been arrived at chiefly by empirical methods. Some of them are undoubtedly very valuable, but there is much that is worthless and even harmful.

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[4] *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 113-14.

[5] It is estimated that "only an insignificant percentage of people who die are cared for at any stage of their final illness by persons possessing adequate medical qualifications."—*Sanitary Commissioner's Report, 1917*, p. 39.

Probably the greatest sufferers from this dearth of medical facilities are the women and children. Social conditions are such that women attendants are largely necessary for the former, and often only ignorant, untrained midwives are available. Their lack of cleanliness, and of all sanitary precautions, and their use of crude methods make childbirth often a most dangerous event to both mother and child. Social and religious custom adds to the danger, for the mother is regarded as ceremonially unclean during these days and is often neglected. The result is a very high maternal and infant mortality, which, with better medical attention and care, might be greatly reduced. Ignorance regarding child care, feeding, and welfare, and inability to secure proper medical advice and treatment, are also causes of children's diseases and deaths.[6]

In recent years special attention has been given to maternity and child welfare. This has taken the form of annual exhibitions and demonstrations; the training of midwives, the instruction of mothers and the better care of babies. However, in this matter also, most of the work is now done in the larger centers, and its influence has not as yet been appreciably felt in distant villages.

The Use of Alcohol and Drugs

A habit which has a vital influence upon the health of a people is the use of alcoholic liquors and drugs. In the Punjab the increase in the consumption of liquor and drugs as shown by the excise and opium returns was very rapid between 1915 and 1920, approximately doubling itself. However, due to temperance agitation, Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation program against drink, and the picketing of liquor shops, together with Government's policy of reducing consumption and increasing revenue, there was a sharp drop in excise from 1920-21 to 1921-22. The previous rapid expansion in excise was probably due both to increased drinking and to the higher prices and increased duty put upon liquors.

Fortunately the use of liquor is prohibited by the tenets of certain religions, notably Islam, and also by ingrained custom.

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[6] "It has been calculated that every year no fewer than 2,000,000 Indian babies die, while many others survive only to grow weak and feeble from unhygienic surroundings during infancy." *Indian Year Book, 1923,* p. 480.

It has, however, laid hold on some communities with very harmful results, this being clearly evident in the considerable differences in the per-capita consumption in the various districts of the Punjab.[7]

As to opium and drugs the consumption is also large. In the Punjab opium is generally eaten, smoking being rare. It is considered by many to be a medicine and stimulant as well as an opiate. It is used to relieve pain, fatigue, and hunger, and it is thought to be a cure for cough, stomach, and intestinal disorders. Its most pernicious use is the giving of small doses to babies and small children so that they will not annoy their mothers.

The League of Nations committee appointed to deal with the problem of drug consumption has laid down an index figure for the legitimate consumption of opium (in a country with a developed medical service) of twelve pounds per 10,000 of the population per year. In the Punjab, the average figure (1922-1923) is 23.8 pounds, which is nearly double the index figure. Still more startling results are secured when an analysis is made of the places where the largest amounts of opium are consumed. Ferozepur District has the staggering index figure of 120 pounds; Ludhiana, 98; Lahore, 80; Jullundur, 46; and Amritsar, 42 pounds, while some districts have figures as low as 6 pounds or less. From this it is quite clear that opium consumption in the Central Punjab is a vital problem.[8]

VITAL STATISTICS

A study of vital statistics reveals some interesting facts about village health and sanitation. In rural areas the village watchman is responsible for reporting births and deaths to headquarters every fortnight. These reports and the birth and death registers are inspected by tahsildars and naib-tahsildars. Crosschecking reveals a reasonable degree of accuracy in the totals, but the diagnosis of the cause of death is often confused with the symptoms, and this probably accounts for the exceedingly large number of deaths said to have resulted from fever. Diagnosis is not likely to be improved so long as millions of people live beyond the reach of skilled medical assistance.

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[7] "In the two years following the War, the consumption of country spirit reached an average of five gallons per 100 of the population [of Ferozepur District], against a provincial average of 2¼ gallons; the serious feature of which is that the bulk of it was consumed by a single caste . . . in India prosperity and drink agree but ill together, and as often as not, dissipation and crime are the result. This district is notorious for both, and many mortgages are due to gambling and drink."—Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[8] William Paton, "India and Opium," *National Christian Council Review*, Jan., 1926.

The following table shows the number of births and deaths per thousand of the population and how these compare with other areas:

	Birth Rate Per Thousand	Death Rate Per Thousand	Population
Punjab (average 1881-1890)	39	31	19,009,368
Punjab (average 1891-1900)	41	33	20,330,337
Punjab (average 1911-1920)	44	37	20,685,024
British India (1919)	30	36	
Japan (1917)	32.8	21.6	
England and Wales (1919)	19	14	

The Punjab, during the past forty years, has had increasing birth and death rates. Compared with other provinces in India both the rates are high. In 1916, 1919, and 1920, the Punjab showed the highest birth rate of the ten large reporting provinces; while in 1911, 1914, and 1915 it was second, and in the remaining years of the decade, third. The census figures seem to indicate that economic conditions rather than salubrity govern the growth of population. The irrigated district of Lyallpur with its large increase in population in a quarter of a century emphasizes this. In the Gurgaon district during the decade 1891-1901, there was an increase of population due to the wave of prosperity resulting from the construction of irrigation embankments, but the embankments quickly ceased to function, and from 1901 onwards there has been a steady decrease. Thus economic causes, rather than the district's admitted unhealthfulness, seem to account for the decrease.[9]

" 'When goods increase,' says an ancient sage, 'they are increased that eat them.' Applied to primitive conditions, this is a profound truth, and we have had occasion to remark more than once that, in time, every material blessing is neutralized by an increase of population. A good example of this is the district of Lyallpur, the population of which rose in thirty years from 30,000 to nearly a million. . . .

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[9] *Land of the Five Rivers,* pp. 110, 111.

" 'If,' says Malthus, 'it were the general custom to follow the first impulse of nature and marry at the age of puberty, the universal prevalence of every known virtue in the greatest conceivable degree would fail of rescuing society from the most wretched and desperate state of want.' The root cause of India's poverty could not be better expressed, for it has long been the custom to follow the first impulse of nature and for fit or unfit to marry as near the age of puberty as possible. The awe-inspiring result is the addition of 54 millions to the population in 49 years. . . . It is therefore something to be thankful for that in the Punjab there is a tendency to defer the consummation of marriage till well after the age of puberty has been reached. Broadly, it may be stated that in the village consummation now takes place two years later than it did twenty or thirty years ago. This is probably due to the rise in the standard of living, which above a certain point appears to operate as a check upon population."[10]

The increase in the death rate from an average of 31 in 1881-1890, by gradual stages to 37 in the period 1911-1920 seems most deplorable. The high death rate in the past decade is largely due to rather severe visitations of plague on two occasions and to heavy mortality from influenza. In 1915, due largely to plague, the Punjab's death rate was the highest of all the provinces, and in 1917 it was second. In the other eight years it has stood third on the list three times, fourth twice, seventh twice, and in 1920 it was ninth.[11]

EPIDEMICS

A very large decrease in the population occurred in 1918 during the devastating epidemic of influenza. This epidemic caused the largest number of deaths which has ever occurred in the Punjab in one year since any record of vital statistics has been maintained. For two months suffering and death were everywhere; terror and confusion reigned; and some of the public services were disorganized. This epidemic illustrates how dangerous unsanitary conditions, ignorance of hygiene, and inadequate medical attention really are. The case mortality was less than 5 per cent amongst Europeans; about 6 per cent for Indians of the higher classes able to secure medical attention, and anything over 50 per cent amongst Indians of the villages, who had no knowledge of the treatment to be adopted, could not read the notices about the proper treatment, and could not obtain medical aid. In one rural district the death rate reached 96 per thousand; yet even an elementary knowledge of the simple rules of health and infection would have rendered it much less disastrous.

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[10] Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-97.

[11] *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 105-6.

Plague is another disease which is greatly feared and which has caused great loss of life. It first appeared in the Punjab in the autumn of 1897 but it was not till 1901-02 that it became general over the province.

> By 1911 the Punjab had lost two million persons by recorded deaths from plague. But the number of unrecorded ones must have been large, probably quite 20 per cent of those recorded. The disease was especially fatal to young women of child-bearing age, who for reasons of privacy, were more likely to sleep indoors and therefore to be bitten by plague infected fleas.[12]

Up to 1911 a relatively large proportion of the deaths in India from plague occurred in the Punjab, the disease largely confining itself to North India, excluding Bengal. This is in accord with its seasonal variation, for it usually appears at the beginning of the cold weather and disappears with the coming of the heat.

With the exception of a rather severe outbreak in 1915 and a somewhat less severe one in 1917-18, plague has not been so destructive in recent years, but it has never disappeared and seems destined to remain permanently endemic, unless the full and understanding co-operation of the people can be secured to stamp it out.

Just as the Punjab is securing relief from plague, another dread disease, cholera, appears, which often means a rapid physical collapse and a quick death for its victims. This disease is epidemic in the province from the end of April until early in October when it disappears, the bacillus being unable to stand the cold of the Punjab winter. Yet even under these conditions it has not been possible to eradicate it, as each year it is again introduced into the province by travelers. Cholera germs do not usually live long outside the human body, and the original source of every outbreak is some infected person. From him the disease is transmitted either by direct contact, or, more usually, by the infection of water, milk, fruit, and other foods. If cholera is to be eradicated from the villages, an improved conservancy and drainage, a pure water and milk supply, and better protection of foodstuffs must be developed.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

MALARIA

Disastrous as the above diseases are, the seizures and deaths from malaria normally outnumber those from all other causes put together. Besides this, malaria undermines people's vitality and predisposes them to other diseases. It has been estimated that malaria is an accessory cause of half the deaths which occur from other diseases and that it is more responsible than any other one cause for the high death rate. When one adds to this all the economic loss involved and the suffering and misery malaria causes, it is quite clear that it is a truly great scourge. In the Punjab during the decade of 1911-20 (omitting the influenza year of 1918) the number of deaths per thousand of population ranged from 116 in Ludhiana district to 226 in Muzaffargarh, with the median at 168 (Montgomery).

Malarial fever is prevalent in the province wherever there is standing or stagnant water. Statistics reveal that those places which have a water-logged soil, irrigation by inundation, and a large number of tanks or low lying places, are heavily infected with malaria.

If malaria is to be extirpated from the villages it will be necessary to improve the drainage; to clear out all rank vegetation; to get rid of all possible standing water and marshy soil; and to spray with oil that water which cannot be drained away. All breeding places of the anopheles mosquito must be hunted out, destroyed, or rendered sterile. People must be educated to take small prophylactic doses of quinine, to protect themselves from mosquitoes, and, so far as possible, to build up the vitality of those who have been fever victims. This demands a strengthening diet, proper outdoor life, hygienic habits, and precautions against the sudden lowering of bodily temperatures.

SMALLPOX AND VACCINATION

Smallpox is no longer so great a menace as it once was, the reason being that people are slowly but increasingly recognizing the value of vaccination. From time immemorial Moslems have practiced inoculation as a protection against smallpox. The method used was to insert a few grains of rice (which had been in contact with the dry crusts from the postules) in a wound near the base of the thumb. The Hindus of the Southeast Punjab did not protect themselves in this way for fear of offending the goddess of smallpox, but elsewhere some Hindus made use of this inoculation. The Government now has a Central Vaccine Institute at Lahore and a vaccination staff, which constitutes a provincial reserve for assisting the district staffs when there are epidemics or when special help is needed. One great need in Punjab villages is to educate people so that they may discard the belief that evil spirits, or a goddess, are to blame for smallpox, and come to the belief that vaccination is a real protection against the disease. In most rural sections it is not fully realized how very contagious smallpox is, how rigid the segregation should be, and how thoroughly the disinfection of room, bed, bedding, clothes, etc., associated with the patient should be carried out. A considerable amount of blindness is also caused by carelessness and inadequate care of the eyes during the progress of this disease.

OTHER DISEASES

Inflammation of the eyes and other eye troubles of various kinds, including considerable cataract, are widely prevalent in the Punjab. The trouble sometimes begins at birth when the eyes are not properly attended to. In infancy and childhood they are not properly washed, and this fact, plus the irritating effect of dust, the very bright and strong sunlight, and the presence of considerable smoke in the houses, causes severe inflammation. This inflammation is spread from one to another by contact or by flies, which are permitted to rest undisturbed on the affected parts.

Intestinal diseases are rather common in the Punjab. Hookworm has been found in 60 per cent of the laborers tested in the province. This disease results in anemia, in listlessness, and in the sapping of vitality and energy. "It is spread by means of thousands of eggs which pass out with the feces. When these are deposited on warm moist soil, the eggs develop into active little larvae. These in turn attach themselves to the bare feet of some unsuspecting village boy."[13] An effective specific for the cure of hookworm is now available. For the prevention of the disease, larvae-infected ground must be sterilized and a latrine or trench used for excreta, rather than the open fields. This is especially necessary during August and September when the ground is moist and warm.

Other parasitic infections are roundworm, tapeworm, pinworm, and dysentery, all of which are caused by unsanitary conditions—soiled hands, contaminated, uncooked vegetables and fruit, inadequately cooked meat, and the lack of suitable latrine facilities.

Tuberculosis and pneumonia cause many deaths. They often follow prolonged attacks of fever or severe colds. The custom of a whole family's crowding into and sleeping in a small room with little or no ventilation; covering the head while sleeping; expectorating in or near the house by those who have tuberculosis; lack of fresh air and sunlight; undernourished systems; and inadequate exercise and recreation are all predisposing causes. Women suffer more from tuberculosis than men, partly because of their living more secluded and shut-in lives; partly because of child marriage and the lack of a wholesome diet and adequate exercise. Dr. Lankester in an investigation found that in certain places the death rate from tuberculosis was 40 per cent higher among women living in *purdah* (seclusion) than it was among men.[14]

Pyorrhoea is said to be the most common disease in India. A conservative estimate is that one out of every three persons in the Punjab is suffering from this disease in some form. The examination of school children has revealed a very high percentage of pyorrhoea infection. In more advanced stages this means lack of appetite, indigestion, low grade inflammation of the joints and muscles, and a general lowering of vitality. The chewing of *pan*, which is conducive to the formation of tartar; the use of the *datum* (soft stick for cleaning the teeth) which tends to injure the gum margins, the lack of any type of tooth powder, and the general indifference to hygienic precautions have all assisted in spreading this infection.

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[13] Dr. Douglas Forman, "The Ill-Health of Villagers," *Village Teachers' Journal*, Aug.-Sept., 1924.

[14] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1917.

Other diseases and physical handicaps of village life could be described, but enough has been stated to indicate the tremendous suffering, loss of life, and economic waste which occur. The great physical need of village people is clearly seen by the actuarial calculations of insurance companies which show that the expectation of life at birth for an Indian is but twenty-two years, whereas it is forty-six years for an Englishman. Moreover, the duration of life for Indians has grown progressively shorter since 1891 and 1901, as shown by census records.[15]

UNFAVORABLE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

The actual health needs and the improving of sanitary conditions are of themselves problems of great magnitude but these are greatly complicated and increased by the hampering individual and social attitudes of the people. One of these is their general apathy. They have become so accustomed to disease and suffering that they take it all as a matter of course. This attitude is augmented by a fatalistic belief that what happens is sent by God. Moreover, few village people have the vision or information regarding the possibility of better conditions and probably believe that the conditions of life and health among most people are like their own. When to all these conditions are added an undermined vitality and a state of grinding poverty, it is not surprising that they do not have the incentive to change their habits of living and to modify their environment in order to achieve health. One of the primary essentials, however, in any health programme must be the changing of the general attitude and outlook of the village people.

The chief medical officer of the Punjab speaking of a certain cheap substitute for quinine as a specific for malaria, has declared that "the general population are too lethargic and lazy to take the drug, even if it is at their hand, until the attack of fever comes along."[16]

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[15] *Census of India, Actuarial Report,* 1911.

Probably another reason is that the people do not know the need or value of quinine as a preventive, or do not think it right to ward off the future in this way. Education is needed to bring about personal conviction, as well as mere physical compliance.

There is also an inadequate social attitude. Village people, while communal in their organization, are yet inclined to think most of the welfare of their own small group and not so much of the welfare of the whole village. Refuse is tossed out of the house or compound; drainage passes out into the street; a dead rat is tossed into the lane with little thought as to the annoyance or harm it may be to neighbors. The same is true regarding contagious diseases. As soon as people who have been ill are well enough to be about, they mix with their fellow villagers, not because they would consciously bring injury to others, but because of indifference and a fatalistic philosophy that if people are to be ill they will be ill anyway.

There is also the peculiar religious attitude. With some it is the fatalism which has been referred to. With others the belief that what they now suffer is due to sins committed in a previous existence and hence it must be borne patiently and without attempts to escape from it. With still others there is the belief that disease is caused by malignant spirits or by the "evil eye" and that the way of relief is through appeasing these offended deities. Little progress is possible until the mind is freed from these inhibiting fears.

The attitude of suspicion also is a hindering cause. Some people are inclined to believe that those who come to help them with regard to sanitation, inoculation, etc., have some other motive than merely disinterested helpfulness. They do not understand why anyone should do such things without pay or without some ulterior motive. In this connection it is most necessary for ultimate village reconstruction that things should be done not merely *for* people but *with* them, and that all attempts at reform should utilize, as far as possible, valuable indigenous practices.

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[16] Quoted in D. J. Fleming, *Building with India,* p. 37.

The greatest handicap, however, is ignorance. This takes many forms. There is the ignorance of the fundamental laws of hygienic living and of sanitation; of simple remedies and of first aid; of the printed page, which prevents the people from reading and profiting by the health pamphlets and circulars which are issued; and, what is worst of all, the ignorance which tends to close people's minds to new ways and methods and to keep them satisfied with things as they are. Education is the great hope, but it must be vitalized education based upon environmental experience and growing out from this to a richer life.

EVALUATION OF VILLAGE HOME AND HEALTH WITH REFERENCE TO EDUCATION

The Village Home.—It is clear from the foregoing discussion that in the village home there are many admirable qualities which education should utilize and foster as well as certain qualities and conditions which education should set itself to correct. On the material side, the favorable features of the village house are its simplicity and low cost, its ease of building and repairing, its adaptation of material to climate, its large use of the out-of-doors and of the sun, the economical adaptation of furniture to needs, the simple, ingenious contrivances used for making butter and *ghi*, baking bread, cleaning cotton, etc., and the exercise of the aesthetic instinct in the making of such things as jars, bowls, jugs, furnishings, clothing, and embroidery. The unfavorable features are poverty, limited accommodations which lead to overcrowding, lack of adequate light and ventilation both day and night, the unsanitary condition of the courtyard if cattle are kept there, the smoke nuisance and the danger of an open charcoal fire in the house without adequate ventilation, the bringing of goats and cattle into the house at night, the indifference to flies, mosquitoes, and rats, unsanitary methods of storing food, the neglect of health precautions with regard to drinking-water, milk, raw foods, etc., ignorance of the laws of contagion, and generally unsanitary sleeping conditions.

On the social side the favorable elements of the village home are: the traditions binding the family together, the spirit of cooperation and of unselfish service, of patient endurance and renunciation, the importance attached to family life, the veneration of motherhood, the love for children, the respect for old age, the faithfulness to duty, the willingness to help relatives, the spirit of hospitality, the religious atmosphere, the love of tradition and of ancient culture, the pleasure found in music, singing, stories, etc., and the larger value placed upon spiritual things than upon the accumulation of wealth.

Among the unfavorable social elements which education must strive to correct, are the following: the lack of equality and of intimate social fellowship in the home, the handicap put upon women, the neglect of childhood discipline and of education, especially in the case of the girls, the existence of child labor and of child marriage, the unfavorable position of a child wife in her mother-in-law's house, the lack of privacy, the hampering effect of the communal system upon initiative and independence, unproductive expenditure, and general passivity.

Village Health and Sanitation.—While it is very easy to see the many shortcomings in village hygiene and sanitation, it is well to look first for those valuable elements which must be present in a people's efforts to remain healthy and strong. One of the health values learned in the difficult school of experience is the content of the average village diet. Such a diet must be strengthening and inexpensive. The use of maize and mustard greens in the winter months, along with *lassi* (buttermilk) and sometimes a little pickle, is a fairly well balanced diet for a working man. It might have more butter fats (*ghi*, oil, etc.), and more of fresh vegetables or fruit, but it is surprisingly well chosen. The substitution of wheat bread instead of corn for the warmer months and of *dals* and curries does not weaken the diet, although it does make it more expensive. The way in which the *dals* and curries are cooked and spiced make them very savory without adding much to the cost. The methods which have been worked out for cooking this food, serving it, and even eating it are usually economical, and with reasonable precautions, are fairly hygienic. In fact, some of the present caste rules regarding the methods of eating and drinking, of not touching the cooking and eating vessels of other castes, and of frequent washing and bathing probably in the beginning had a hygienic significance. This is doubtless true also of the unjust teachings of untouchability.

Another contribution is the indigenous systems of medicine, the *Ayurvedic* among Hindus and the *Unani* among Moslems, which exercise considerable influence over village people. There is undoubtedly much in these systems which is unscientific, but what is needed is the search for, and the utilization of, all that is good, this to be combined with the best that the West has discovered. As illustration of this Sir Pardey Lukis in a lecture stated:

> I wish to impress upon you most strongly that you should not run away with the idea that everything that is good in the way of medicine is contained within the ringed fence of allopathy or western medicine. [Here the speaker referred to the fact that the East knew long before the West that an entirely salt-free dietary was the thing that was beneficial in cases of dropsy.] Is it not suicidal on the part of the State to leave [these systems] cold and neglected any longer? The duty of every patriotic man is to urge the Government promptly to encourage and support them in an unstinted manner.[17]

Lord Pentland struck a similar note in his speech at the opening of the Ayurvedic hospital in the Cochin state:

> There is an obvious and promising desire at the present moment among the numerous adherents of these systems for closer touch with modern scientific methods. In time no doubt they will be able to make available for the practitioners of western medicine the traditional knowledge which is of real value and will reject as western medicine continually rejects, those theories which are mere survivals and cannot stand the test of experience. The distinction between Indian and western systems of medicine will then disappear.[18]

The very early method of inoculation against smallpox practiced by the Moslems is an illustration of an empirical practice of considerable value.

On the favorable side should also be placed the new attitude toward certain phases of modern medicine and hygiene. People are becoming more willing to be vaccinated against serious disease; they are more ready to follow directions when threatened with an epidemic; and they are less suspicious of Western medicine and hygienic procedure. If, with this, they could be induced to co-operate in bringing about better sanitary conditions in their homes and in the village, and if they could be led to form more hygienic personal habits, a time of real hope and better health would not be far distant. Part of the responsibility for bringing about this changed attitude devolves upon the schools. Such ideals and habits as will preserve health must be developed and applied by the pupils in the care of their persons and their environment.

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[17] "Rural Medical Relief," *Indian Social Reformer,* June 6, 1925. [18] *Ibid.*

The unfavorable aspects of village health and sanitation are concerned as much with mental attitudes as with ignorance or other deficiencies, and one of the fundamental things which the schools must bring about is a changed ideal of health and disease. Pupils must be brought to recognize that health is dependent upon the observance of definite hygienic laws, that protection against disease is possible, and that when disease has laid hold of them, it can best be overcome by helping the body in its fight against the invading poisons, rather than by trying to secure the aid of extrinsic forces and powers. Along with this there must be a forward looking view of life, an ideal of health and cleanliness, a dissatisfaction with things as they are, a belief that they can be improved, and a strong social desire to co-operate with others for their successful attainment. The school must give the necessary knowledge for this both by direct instruction and by having the pupils work together to attain the desired ends both in the school and in their homes.

These better conditions must involve personal, home, and community hygiene. Regarding the first there should be a better balanced and more sufficient diet, with adequate protection of water and milk; more suitable food and better care for infants, children, and sick people; clean and suitable clothing for varying temperatures; regular and proper bathing; the proper care of the eyes and of the teeth; an adequate amount of sleep in a well ventilated place with sufficient clean covering. Especially for women and children there should be better provisions for fresh air, exercise, and recreation. The physical and moral dangers involved in the use of liquor and opium need to be realized more fully.

Regarding the home, there should be more light and ventilation, greater cleanliness, particularly in the courtyard, elimination of smoke, better drainage and disposal of wastes, the destruction of rats and their breeding and feeding places (which, for religious reasons, is not popular), better medical care for women and children, particularly in childbirth, a knowledge of nursing and child welfare, and a more cheerful view of life.

In the community at large there is need for greater cleanliness, better drainage, more room and sunlight, sanitary control of water, milk, etc., destruction of breeding places of mosquitoes and flies, a local sanitary and health committee, a larger utilization of the health facilities of the district and of near-by cities, and a fuller use of their dispensaries and hospitals.

The importance of education in bringing about better home and health conditions cannot be overstated. The study of hygiene and health in the schools and the classroom projects in this field should have as their aim the correcting of those wrong attitudes which have persisted through many generations and the developing of those attitudes and habits which make for healthy living in the home and in the community. Not only will such education benefit the children, but, by reflex action, it will affect the parents and the home as well.

CHAPTER XII

THE VILLAGE: CIVIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

THROUGHOUT MOST of the Punjab, the villages for hundreds and probably thousands of years have been closely compacted social and economic units with a common life. The people in each have formed an actual functioning community, governing themselves and having a communal sense of ownership over the whole village. They have had their own officers, employees, and governing council (*panchayat*), these, in turn, being influenced by the informal village assembly. By this system the community was responsible for each of its members and claimed the right to regulate his actions. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, in his book on *Local Government in Ancient India* claims that in early times this system of local government predicated a capacity for corporate action in high degree. Yet it differed in kind from that evolved by the democracies of the West. It was not an offspring of the central government. On the contrary, its organization and powers evolved naturally and spontaneously from craft and merchant guilds. These guilds, and the village assemblies which were modeled on similar lines, evolved laws by which their activities were governed and protected. Such laws were to be recognized by the central government and to be enforced by them if necessary.

Dr. Mookerji gives an interesting account of the constitution and working of an early village derived from an inscription found in a temple in Uttaramallur, South India, written about the tenth century. The controlling body was the village assembly, consisting of all persons possessing a certain property qualification, together with moral fitness and a definite standard of proficiency in legal and religious literature.

The actual work of the village was entrusted to a number of committees, membership in which was open only to persons possessing certain qualifications: ownership of a specified amount of tax-paying land; residence on one's own property; knowledge of *mantras* and *Brahmanas;* a capacity for business; and an age qualification of between thirty-five and seventy years. The village was divided into a number of wards, and at the time of the appointment of committees, the residents of each ward assembled and each wrote down on a ticket the name of the person whom he desired to represent his ward. Tickets from each ward were made up in packets and placed in an empty pot, which in the presence of the village assembly was held aloft by the oldest priest present. A packet was then drawn by a young boy, and the tickets of this packet undone and shaken up in another pot. The name first drawn from this pot by the boy was read out and accepted. There were a number of these committees—finance, justice, tank and garden. There was also a supreme committee consisting only of persons who had already served on one of the other committees and who were advanced in learning and experience. This committee had powers of general oversight and of supervision.

This local communal government and control has had remarkable vitality. Vestiges of it persist, despite many vicissitudes. Even today it is eulogized by those who have studied or seen something of its working, as a survival of that most ancient self-governing unit, the village community, from which the democratic city states of Greece and Rome developed.

> Of all the Indian provinces the Punjab preserves this organic growth in its most vigorous form—organization of the proprietors of land into village communities has existed from time immemorial, surviving the downfall of one kingdom after another. It is the work of the people themselves, and not the result of measures adopted either by the British or by previous Governments.[1]

> Whether this communal arrangement is looked at from the historical point of view, from that of land administration, or from that of local self-government, it is a very striking form of social organization.
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> Historically, it seems to be the result of an occupation of the Central and Southeastern Punjab by special tribes. These tribes did not settle in the sandy stretches of the southwest Punjab,

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[1] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 89.

> in the hilly country to the northwest, or in the Himalayan tracts, and hence in those regions the same communal form of ownership is not found.
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> Indeed it may be suggested that the reason why the first Aryan settlers avoided the Punjab plains and settled so far east as the Jumna River, was that the Punjab had already begun to be peopled by those other tribes, who were chiefly Jats and Gujars. Whatever may be the truth as to this, the tribes appear to have come in sufficient force to occupy large areas, and to form, by multiplication in the course of time, a complete network of villages. These were held by tribesmen who, being conquerors, left to their descendants that joint claim to their several locations which is necessary to the constitution of the joint or landlord village.[2]

A tribal map of the Central Punjab still shows, even after the lapse of all these years, the large areas which are occupied by these tribes who still have the family idea of property and the same feeling of superiority which results from a landlord claim over village allotments.

When the Punjab Government developed its system of land administration, it adopted this strong, well preserved community organization of the Central and Southeast Punjab as its unit. Land revenue was assessed in a lump sum on the whole community, because of the owners' strong sense that they, as a body (whether lands were held in severalty or still remained wholly or partly undivided), had the landlord's right over the whole area of the village, and that their holdings were shares of a unit estate. Government in most cases recognized this claim, altering it only where existing rights were found to be irreconcilable with the theory of proportional inheritance.

Considering the old village organization as a self-governing unit, one sees that it was founded and continued to function on principles which have decided democratic elements:

> The landowners of the village connected by common descent, real or fictitious, form among themselves a democracy which rules its dependent priests, artisans, menials with oligarchic authority. The informal assembly of the village which has been able to bring considerable pressure on the body, is presided over by a *lambardar* [head-

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117.

man]. Often there are several headmen. The headman of a village is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner and if he is recognized by the community as its natural leader, his influence equals his authority. . . . The headman transacts the business of the community, including the management of its common fund (*malba*) to which all contribute and to supplement which, in many villages, a door-tax is imposed on all residents who are not members of the proprietary body.[3]

In the view of some leaders the British government made an unfortunate mistake in making the Tahsil and District, rather than the village, its unit of rural government. These districts and their Boards correspond roughly to the counties and county councils in England and have no relation to indigenous civic organizations. The result has been that the villages have frequently taken little interest in the district Board, since it is to them an exotic organization, far removed from their interests and problems. The communal body of the village was left with no status, responsibility, or legal powers, and as a result it has become weak and in some places has practically disappeared. In other places it still has vitality enough to continue to exert social pressure, inflicting on recalcitrant members of the community the loss of caste or social position or refusing to smoke with them (*huqqa pani bund*).[4] The refusal to admit one into the community group and to share the smoking pipe with him is a punishment still dreaded by all.

As the powers of the village community and its representative council (*panchayat*) have been increasingly encroached upon by official administrative and judicial authorities, the conviction has deepened among British and Indian leaders that greater status and more legal power should be given to these indigenous bodies. Without such responsibility it was felt that this "organic growth, which had called forth the eulogies of philosophers and historians" might gradually disappear. This has led to the passing of corrective legislation. The first Panchayat Act of 1912 proved ineffective because it recognized these village councils only as arbitration committees. The new Act of 1922, however, aims to "restore to the Panchayat its old authority, where it still exists, and to revivify it in villages where it has died out but where the corporate feeling still survives. . . . The panchayat will be elected, though the election will be informal. It will have considerable administrative functions and also certain criminal (and in some cases civil) powers. In addition to funds such as the village *malba,* which are now allotted to common village purposes, it will be able to levy a village rate proportionate to the present rate levied for *chaukidars* [watchmen]."[5] It is hoped that with such powers the village community will have the opportunity of once more regaining its old vitality and usefulness.

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[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] Means literally that the pipe and water are stopped.

There are at least two officials in most villages: the *lambardar* and the *patwari.* The *lambardar* is the chief officer. "He is a natural part of the village constitution and is generally a member of the most influential family. The office is hereditary. He often acts as a representative of the village."[6] His principal duty is collecting the land revenue and paying it into the Tahsil treasury every harvest. His reward amounts to 5 per cent of the total revenue collected from the village. He is also expected to report and give information about crime.

The *patwari* is the village accountant or registrar. His duties are to keep the village accounts and its various records, registers, and maps, and to prepare reports and furnish extracts of records upon application. He is expected also to report any unusual occurrence affecting the welfare of the village to the Tahsil.[7]

The village has its own employees, artisans, and servants, over whom it exercises a considerable amount of control. They are usually paid in kind at the harvest time. The village watchman, in addition to his duty of watch and ward, has the power of arrest and is jointly responsible with the *lambardar* for the reporting of crime. He is further charged with the duty of reporting births and deaths at the police station where he reports fortnightly. A *chaukidara* tax is levied from all occupants of houses in the beat by a rate assessed on the annual value of the houses. Custom has also emphasized the liability of all villagers, taken in rotation, for patrol service when required. Other types of common service for village protection and improvement are rendered in times of need. Men will sometimes band together to erect a school or other public building or to help on public works for the welfare of the whole community.

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[5] *Land of the Five Rivers,* pp. 90, 91.

[6] *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village,* p. 122.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 122-23.

CASTE

One of the outstanding social institutions affecting village life is caste. It determines social standing, it governs one's choice of occupation, and it effectively influences one's attitude toward other people, toward different types of work, and toward various modes of living. It has even influenced other religions which have been opposed to caste. Since it is so vital a part of the Hindu religion, supported not only by religious sanction but also by tradition and custom, it is a force that education must reckon with.

Caste doubtless arose out of the twin ideas of the community of blood and the community of occupation, which have ever been strong social influences. In every society these two considerations have operated, the latter usually gaining in importance over the former. In India, however, the effort has been to make them identical, occupation and social status being made as dependent upon heredity as are blood or tribal relationships. This is supplemented and reinforced by religion. On the one hand, the four major castes were each said to have had a distinct origin in God, springing from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma. On the other hand were the doctrines of transmigration and Karma, emphasizing that "a man is born into that caste for which his former actions have prepared him. If one is far advanced in spirituality he is born a Brahman; if he is a step lower, he is born a Kshatriya (ruling and warrior caste); then follow the Vaishya and Sudra castes. Thus, in Hinduism a man's caste is held to be an infallible index of the state of his soul,"[8] and only by faithfully observing all caste rules can a man retain the spiritual condition he has won or progress in it.

Moreover, since the Brahmans were the most spiritually advanced, they were the best fitted to exercise priestly and teaching functions, and hence these functions became their recognized caste occupations. Next in order came the Kshatriyas, who were considered the best fitted to rule and to serve as warriors; and then came the farmers and the business men (Vaishyas). All three of these tribes or castes are supposed to be of pure Aryan descent. They are called twice-born on account of their origin, knowledge of religion, and tradition. They all wear the "sacred thread," which is given them at the time of their initiation. The lowest caste, Sudra, which was to serve the other three, was composed of aborigines admitted to the Hindu community. The fifth, or untouchable, caste (outcastes), contained the unclean aborigines and the progeny of mixed marriages. These people were compelled to live altogether apart from the other castes; to keep their distance from them; to engage in unclean and despised occupations. They were not permitted to enter Hindu temples or to use caste wells.

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[8] J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism,* p. 159.

The purity of the castes was to be preserved "by the faithful performance of the domestic sacraments, the *sraddha* (ancestral) ceremonies, vedic sacrifices and the prescribed daily devotions; also by the avoidance of any breach of caste rules in matters of marriage, food, social intercourse, or occupation."[9] Purity was largely conceived of as ceremonial purity, and it was to be maintained through emphasis upon the observance of caste rules, rather than upon moral rectitude.

However, in the course of years, through the admission of foreign tribes, through migrations, changes in culture, marriage, custom, wealth, and influence, the main castes subdivided and differentiated until today there are over 2,300 castes and sub-castes. Yet only within the bounds of their own sub-caste are the orthodox permitted to marry, and this is now known to be physically and mentally detrimental. Other forces have undermined the religious bases and assumptions of caste and have slightly loosened its bonds; so that today there is more freedom with regard to social interaction.

Among the forces working against caste are the non-Brahman movement, especially in the South; the strong popular feeling against untouchability, due largely to Mahatma Gandhi's campaign; the greater desire for unity between castes and religions and the determination to get rid of anything which hinders India's progress as a nation; larger freedom in the higher castes to adopt the occupation one desires to follow;

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

and greater opportunities for travel. In the Punjab, Sikhism and Islam, with their strong solidarity, the effect of education, and of other civilizations, the democratic influences of Christianity and of British social and political ideals have all been modifying influences. Christian missions have demonstrated clearly that the outcaste can be uplifted, and that a rigid karma has not fixed his position in life. The Arya Samajh and other social, religious, and progressive organizations have also taken their stand against caste.

The war with its service abroad, foreign study, the growth of nationalism, the awakening and self-consciousness of the non-Brahman and lowest castes, the larger recognition of the rights of the individual, the necessities of modern civilized life—all have had modifying effects. Even in the villages some of these influences have been felt; and while the friction and inertia to be overcome are very great, signs of improvement are not wanting.[10]

Caste in North India has not been so strong and rigid as in the South, nor has the distinction between Sudra (servants) and Panchamas (outcastes) been so clear and distinct. While outcastes have been segregated as to living quarters and wells, there is more economic and social contact with them than in the southern section of the country. Tribal ties are strongly felt and have more influence than caste divisions. This is evident in the following quotation:

> Within the caste the first great division of the land-owning classes is into tribes; and the tribe appears to be far more permanent and indestructible than the caste. . . . When a family or section of a caste rises or sinks in the socal scale, it often retains its tribal designation while it changes the name of its caste, the same tribal names thus occur in different castes. The Chauhan Gujars, for instance, will tell you that their ancestor was a Chauhan Rajput who married a Gujar Woman; and that his descendants retained the tribal name, while sinking to the rank of Gujars owing to the infringement of caste regulations.[11]

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[10] "In the west of the Punjab the broader distinctions of caste have become little more than a tradition or a convenient symbol for social standing, while the tribal groups are the practical units of which the community is composed. . . . The liberty enjoyed by the people of the western Punjab is extending to their neighbors in the east and the old tribal customs especially, are gradually fading away."—*Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 323.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

Certain convictions regarding caste, however, seem just as strong as ever. One of these is with regard to marriage, for intercaste marriage is frowned upon, and generally the matrimonial rules of caste are carefully observed. Another is the attitude toward manual labor. The higher castes regard manual labor as degrading, or at least that part of it in which they are not directly engaged. It is this belief which has contributed to the preponderance of clerks and professional people and has influenced the attitude of landowners, cultivators, etc., toward other types of work than the one which they considered dignified. Another persistent belief is that certain industries subsidiary to agriculture, such as the keeping of poultry, the breeding of cattle, dairying, the cultivation of a garden, working in leather, etc., are almost defiling. Closely allied to this is the feeling that one should not do his own simple repairs in wood and iron or make his own baskets, etc., for this is considered the work of certain castes and should be limited to them. The same principle applies to servants for various types of work and to the idea of employing as much help as possible and then cutting down on one's own industry. So long as these conceptions prevail it is difficult to see how the agriculturist can improve his present economic status.

Not only on the economic but on the social side caste has many drawbacks. It prevents free social interaction, free expression, widely shared interests, community co-operation, and that sense of the value of the individual which is the foundation of real social and political development. The contempt and disdain shown to low caste and outcaste peoples and the indignities and injustices heaped upon them have injured both the oppressed and the oppressors. In fact, caste strikes at the roots of human brotherhood, and instead of fostering fraternity, unity, growth, and mutual service, it engenders hatred, contempt, and disunion. In summing up the present disadvantages of caste, William Archer says:

> Caste has enfeebled India politically by substituting vanity for patriotism. It has impoverished her physically by fostering a marriage system which is thoroughly unhealthy, both in its obligations and in its restrictions. It has corrupted her morally by making insensate arrogance a religious and social duty. It has paralyzed her intellectually

> by forcing her to occupy her mind with infantile rules and distinctions and to regard them as the most serious interests in life.[12]

When a defense of caste is attempted it usually takes the form that a caste is a trade guild, that each caste is a democracy within itself, that caste establishes responsibility for relief and social service within the caste, that it emphasizes group solidarity, and that it provides a medium for the preservation of the arts and crafts. Indian social and political leaders, however, are increasingly convinced that caste is a biological, social, economic, and political handicap and that if India is to become a democratic and unified nation, it will need to be on other principles than those of caste. Dr. Tagore is outspoken on this point:

> This immutable and all pervading system of caste has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people, but it has at the same time kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and readjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition of caste.[13]

Lala Lajpat Rai, a Punjab leader, says, "Caste is a disgrace to our humanity, our sense of justice, and our feeling of social affinity—a standing blot on our social organization."[14]

At the 36th Indian National Social Conference in Belgaum, December, 1925, the following resolution was passed:

> This conference reiterates the opinion expressed in previous conferences regarding the immediate necessity of discarding the present cast-iron caste system, which is the greatest impediment to national unity. It exhorts all Hindu castes to co-operate with one another in finding a rational synthesis of their social ideals by eliminating all the features of the present system which are productive of mutual jealousies and are therefore inimical to the solidarity and progress of their community.

Two movements which have gained considerable momentum in recent years and which vitally affect the social, economic, and political life of the country are the campaign against untouchability and that regarding inter-communal unity. Regarding the first, Mahatma Gandhi has succeeded in arousing the country to some sense of the social injustice which has been done to the unfortunate people regarded as "untouchables" and to a consciousness of the fact that their larger opportunity bears directly upon India's political progress and the securing of *Swaraj*.[15] So long as there are depressed classes in India so long will the force of India's agitation for freedom and racial equality be weakened. Many social, political, and religious organizations all over India are demanding the removal of untouchability and of the disabilities of these classes. Better social and economic treatment, removal of physical disabilities, opportunities for education, representation in political and legislative bodies are all being advocated. This agitation, together with a new social consciousness among the depressed groups, promises much for the future. The movement has a start in the villages, but much more needs to be done through education and public opinion to strengthen and extend it.

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[12] *India and the Future,* p. 84.

[13] Quoted in Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism,* p. 175.

[14] *Loc. cit.*

Inter-communal unity is needed both among the castes or the divisions of a given religion and among the various religions. The strong sentiment throughout the country for a unified nation, especially for Hindu-Moslem unity, so strongly advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, is an indication of how vital this matter has become. The whole problem bristles with difficulties, for it is closely related with religion, with caste, with communal representation in political and government service, and with strongly entrenched jealousies, antipathies, and prejudices.

The Unity Conference held in Delhi, from September 26 to October 2, 1923, marked a great step forward, for representatives of all distinct religious bodies discussed and took action upon such points of friction as cow slaughter, the sale of meat, Hindu music, religious processions, places of worship, desecration, right of conversion, and communal boycotts. It arranged for an annual unity day and appointed a national *panchayat* to inquire into and settle all disputes and differences. The conference recorded its opinion that every individual or group should have full liberty to hold and to give expression to his or their beliefs and to follow any religious practice with due regard to the rights and feelings of others. In no case may such individual or group, however, revile the founder of a religion or the tenets of another faith. The conference emphasized that all places of worship shall be considered inviolable, and on no account shall they be attacked or desecrated whether as a result of provocation or by way of retaliation. Since the conference there have been numerous communal quarrels and riots, but these have served to emphasize how great is the need for education and for the development of tolerance and civic cooperation.

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[15] By *Swaraj* is meant political independence.

The Position of Women

Another part of the social structure which is receiving much attention from social and political leaders is the position of women. The efforts for reform have to do with child marriage, enforced widowhood, the seclusion of women, their education, and their general social and political standing.

The village woman suffers many handicaps. She is often married at a very early age.[16] Early marriage is enjoined by the Hindu law books and is favored by some castes. Religious and social conditions are such that it is considered a disgrace for a girl to reach the age of puberty without being betrothed, and parents will go to almost any expense and trouble to prevent such a calamity. Another cause of child marriage is the distrust that prevails among the families on both sides. Nothing is considered safe and settled until the marriage takes place.

Social reformers have endeavored for many years to raise the "age of consent" and to educate the public regarding the dangers of early marriage. These dangers include the undermining of the child-mother's health, the birth of weak and sickly children, the increasing danger of over-population, the economic handicap, the inadequate opportunity for a wholesome, natural girlhood, the limited time for education before marriage, and the difficulty of educating a large number of children in later years.[17]

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[16] "In the Punjab a boy is normally married at sixteen or seventeen, and a girl a year or two earlier."—Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Lucas found in his survey of Kabirpur that the average age of marriage among the sheikhs is 17.1 years for girls; among the weavers 12.1, with betrothal between the fifth and eighth years; among the Chumars, 10.4 years, with betrothal age four to eight years. Boys are usually four to six years older than the girls.—*The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, p. 50.

Another handicap grows out of a prevailing custom of many Moslems and some high-caste Hindus—that of keeping women secluded from the public gaze. No men except husbands or close relatives are supposed to look upon their faces. Where this seclusion is strictly carried out, it tends to undermine health, to make education difficult, to make the woman an economic burden, and to narrow and cramp her personality.

The saddest of women's handicaps, however, is that of enforced widowhood. This is sanctioned and upheld by Hindu custom and is especially prevalent among the highest castes. Its most deplorable feature is that the widow is supposed to have been the cause of her husband's death, possibly because of sins in her previous existence. Because of this her jewels and pretty clothes are often taken from her; her head is shaved; she is debarred from certain religious ceremonies; she is expected to fast and to show her penitence; and she is sometimes made the drudge of the household.

About one-sixth of the women are widows, and of these, over 25 per cent are under forty years of age. Not all of these, however, are treated in this cruel way. Social reformers are doing much to alleviate these conditions, and in certain provinces there are progressive societies which make arrangements for the remarriage of widows.[18] This is done, however, in defiance of religion and custom and with the possible consequence of social ostracism. In an increasing number of places the remarriage of a widow does not cause nearly the public commotion that it did twenty years ago.

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[17] In *The Times of India*, Oct. 10, 1927, Dr. M. I. Balfour stated that of 6,580 cases of mothers with their first babies, none was under thirteen years of age; seven were recorded as thirteen years old and thirty-five as under fifteen years of age. The average age of first motherhood in Bombay was 18.7 years and in Madras 19.4 years. Both in Madras and Bombay, between 85 and 86 per cent were over seventeen years old.

Dr. R. P. Paranjype, late principal of Ferguson College, collected statistics of the age of marriage of his students, who numbered about a thousand, with ages ranging between sixteen and twenty-three years. He says, "While 25 years ago, an appreciable fraction of the boys in the first year class were married, it is now a rare exception to see any married boy in that class, and even in the final year there are no more than 30 per cent married boys."

In August, 1929, the Age of Consent Committee appointed by Government recommended that the "age of consent" as against strangers be fixed at 18 and that in the marital relation it be 15 years. In October, 1929, the Sarda Marriage bill was passed, which makes it unlawful for girls to be married before 14 years of age. The age for boys is 18 years. The bill goes into effect April 1, 1930.

As may well be understood, the general position and influence of women in the home are not simple or easy to describe. On the one hand, motherhood, especially to be the mother of sons, is greatly venerated, and Indian women are faithful and devoted in this relationship. Mothers are often spoken of with great respect, and the symbol for nationality is maternal—"Hail, Mother" or "Motherland." Women also have a large place in Hindu religion, and in the Hindu pantheon are many goddesses. Probably no story in India is more loved than that of Sita, a faithful, devoted wife who has been the inspiration and ideal of womanhood for many centuries. The most beautiful building in India, the Taj Mahal, was built in memory of a queen, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, who was a devoted wife and mother. Indian women are outstanding in quiet dignity, repose, idealism, modesty, grace, hospitality, courtesy, religious devotion, love of children, and in the spirit of sacrifice.

However, there is another side to the picture. Women have usually not been treated as equals. They have been expected to be subject to men all their lives, first to fathers and brothers, then to their husbands, and last, to their sons. Since the parents of a girl may be obliged to pay a large dowry to her prospective husband's people, girl babies are not so welcome as boys and are not so well cared for.

The amount and kind of work the village woman does in her home depends largely upon her caste and social position. Purdah is considered by some a mark of social distinction, and therefore the wives of wealthier villagers, of aristocratic races such as the Rajputs, and of many Moslems observe the custom. In this case the wives can do no work outside the house, and not a very great amount is done within it. On the other hand, wives from the Jat, Ahir, and Arain tribes work very hard indeed. They cook the food morning and evening and carry it out to their husbands in the fields; they boil the milk and make curds and buttermilk; they bring water from the village well, wash the dishes, sweep and clean the house and courtyard, look after the children, chop fodder and feed it to the cattle, grind the grain into flour, and, in their spare (!) time clean the cotton and do the spinning, mending, and sewing. In busy seasons the wife will also help to sow, to weed, and to harvest the crop. The women of low caste and outcaste groups do considerable work for wages away from their homes and try to carry on their home and family duties in addition.

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[18] Widow Marriage Associations have been started in various parts of India. They receive applications from widows and widowers desiring marriage, arrange such marriage, conduct public meetings, and co-operate with other organizations working to this end. A bill to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows was introduced in the Legislative Council in 1928 but was not successful.

The wife does not eat with her husband, but first serves him and then eats afterwards. She is discriminated against in social customs and has been denied educational opportunities to such an extent that there is but little more than one woman in a hundred who can read and write any language. Her lot too often has been that of a bearer of burdens. If she has been poor, she has endured much sorrow and suffering; if she has been rich she has led a life of secluded idleness with all its attendant temptations. Her position, as defined by religion, is tersely put by Manu, the Hindu lawgiver: "She shall serve him [her husband] with all her might; obey him in all things; spy no defects in his character; nor give him any cause of disquiet." The good wife is one who is submissive to her husband and shows him every consideration and regard.

But in spite of their many handicaps, women have exerted a remarkable influence in the home, not only over their daughters and daughters-in-law, but also over their husbands and sons. They have been the conservers of religion and of ancient culture and traditions; the faithful attendants at temples and shrines; the ones who minister to Brahmans, priests, and mendicants. Although illiterate, they have not all been uneducated, and many an educated man looks back with gratitude to the cultural influence of his mother. But, mixed with their knowledge of the past, there is much superstition, ignorance, outworn tradition, and conservatism, so that, although many leaders, both men and women, are convinced that women must be educated and emancipated, the greatest difficulty will probably come from the prejudices and inhibitions of the women themselves.

There are many signs of improvement, however. The number of girls attending school has steadily increased; *purdah* restrictions are now less rigid; and reformers are working heroically and persistently to raise the age of marriage[19] and to bring about the remarriage of widows. Indian women leaders have recently appeared in politics, in social and educational work, in literature, law, and medicine. A number have been outstanding in literature and the arts. The franchise has been extended to women under certain conditions. Few of them have been elected to legislative bodies. In Madras a woman is deputy president of the Assembly and recently she successfully piloted a notable piece of reform legislation regarding the devidasis through the legislature. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has been a president of the Indian National Congress and has been a prominent progressive political leader for years. Recently she took over the leadership of the non-co-operation forces following the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in the course of his presidential address at the Hindu Mahasabha, Calcutta, said:

> I have the greatest admiration for the Hindu woman. She stands unique in the world in the matter of her selflessness, in her devotion to her male relatives and in her purity and chastity. But the condition of Hindu women at the present moment is far from satisfactory and that is due to the arrogance of Hindu men and to their failure of duty toward their women.

The speaker then went on to deplore *purdah*, lack of educational opportunities, child marriage, enforced widowhood, unsanitary living conditions, and the lack of provisions for the physical development and hygienic safety of women. He said:

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[19] The age of marriage is steadily rising. The Census of 1911 showed there were 555 girls per thousand unmarried at the end of their 15th year. By 1921 these figures had risen to 601 (Census, 1921, I, 164-65). Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Honorary Secretary of the Women's Indian Association, has enumerated the different classes and castes among whom marriage later than the age of 16 is the rule, and she estimates that the total is about 200 million. This corresponds roughly with the above census figures of 60 per cent not married till the completion of their 15th year.—Alden H. Clark in "Is India Dying?" A Reply to Mother India, *The Atlantic Monthly,* CXLI (Feb., 1928), 275. See also the Sarda Act, 1929, in footnote 17 above p. 240.

> I will beg my countrymen to save their girls; to give them suitable opportunities for developing healthy bodies and psychologically fit minds. Our girls and women must be freed from all superstitions which breed carelessness in life; indifference to food; distaste for struggle; lack of energy; the habit of "taking things lying down" and a psychology of dependence and fear.[20]

The Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha, of Lahore, in its tenth annual report states that 1,603 widow remarriages were reported during 1924; 1,137 of these occurring in the Punjab, Delhi, and N. W. Frontier Provinces. This figure is very encouraging when in 1915 there were but twelve, and in 1919 fewer than a hundred.

MARRIAGE

Marriage occupies an important place in village life. It is considered a religious duty to marry, and every Hindu father longs for a son who can perform the funeral ceremonies at his death. Marriage is also considered an economic necessity, for the cultivator needs a wife to look after his house, to bring his breakfast to the fields, and to help at times in the agricultural work.

But marriage is generally a very expensive affair. It is no uncommon practice to spend from six months' to a year's income on a marriage. In the first place, money must generally be paid out to secure a bride. This is partly due to there being nearly two million more men than women in the Punjab. This means over 20 per cent difference, as the number of males in the census of 1921 was 11,306,265 as compared with 9,378,759 females. Actual cash is not always paid for the bride, the money being put into ornaments or cattle or into the entertainment of guests. Sometimes, if the bridegroom is well born or well off, the bride's father may have to pay. The price paid for a bride depends upon the wealth of the bridegroom, upon his age, and upon whether he has any physical defect. It has also greatly increased within the last twenty-five or thirty years.[21]

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[20] *Indian Social Reformer,* April 25, 1925.

[21] Generally Rs. 300 (£20) to over Rs. 1,000 (£67) are paid. "A Muhammadan, it seems, can generally get what he wants for four or five hundred rupees, but the Sikh Jat has to pay one or two thousand." The difference is largely due to the shortage of girls in the latter community and to the Sikh's greater wealth. North of the Jhelum River and in the Southwest Punjab prices are lower.—Darling, *op. cit.,* p. 55.

As a result of the high price of brides many men do not marry. Bhalla found in Bairampur that there were only nineteen women for forty-four men. Counting all the males in the village there were 60.7 who were neither betrothed, married, or widowers.[22]

In the Rajput village of Shakargarh out of twenty-three men of marriageable age, seventeen were unmarried. The six who had married had spent an average of Rs. 1,500 each on their marriages.[23] Sometimes one of several brothers marries and the other brothers serve as helpers in the fields. By this means a higher standard of living is maintained, and there is not so much pressure on the land. This practice has its moral danger, and looseness with menials and even polyandry are not unknown.[24]

> But the most surprising thing of all is that in spite of the deplorable shortage of women, female infanticide still persists . . . here and there, where caste is high and suitable husbands few. . . . Conditions are probably better than they were twenty years ago, but there are still Jats and Rajputs who would rather see their daughters dead than married beneath their station, and according to trustworthy authority, infanticide still occurs throughout the central Punjab.[25]

The methods, however, are usually those of neglect and exposure rather than deliberate acts.

RECREATION

The recreational activities of an Indian village are closely related to religion or to tradition. Holidays are times of great rejoicing and are celebrated with processions, music, fireworks, special lighting, and dramatic spectacles. There are many religious holidays in the course of the year (Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, and Christian), and some of them, such as the Moharrum and Dasehra, involve extensive preparation and rouse deep religious feeling; others, such as Basant and Dewali, are times of joy and merrymaking, while others, like Holi, are characterized by considerable buffoonery.

The villagers are also very fond of wrestling, running, Indian group games, camel races, kite flying and kite fighting, and tugs of war. They are also engaging more and more in certain Western games which are gradually spreading out from the larger cities into the villages.

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[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

[23] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 55n.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 55, and Bhalla, p. 142.

[25] Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

Local fairs of various kinds have great attraction for the villagers. These fairs are not designed for the purpose of interchanging commodities, although sweets and trinkets are sold. Sometimes they are held in memory of a holy man or in connection with a religious holiday; sometimes they are connected with some phase of economic life, as in the case of cattle fairs. Whatever the purpose, there are always amusements of various sorts—gymnastics, jugglery, magic, trained animals, the weird practices of ascetics, singing, and instrumental music. The crowds at these fairs are always in a holiday spirit, jostling, shouting, and stirring up clouds of dust.

Large religious gatherings, known as *melas* (religious fairs) and pilgrimages to some shrine, temple, or river, have great attractive power to village people, and they will often borrow money or sell their possessions in order to start out on one of these journeys. They sometimes travel long distances and endure great hardships in order to attend these gatherings and will feel repaid if they have bathed in sacred waters or received the blessing of a holy man. They have also had the privilege of gazing upon the numerous ascetics present, who have subjected themselves to various forms of self-mortification in order to overcome desire and attain merit—men with withered arms, men lying on beds of spikes, men buried in the ground with only their arms and hands showing, men surrounded by fires with the burning sun overhead. All these are objects of veneration to the pilgrims.

People often become sick on these pilgrimages because of improper housing, generally unsanitary conditions, and impure water; and many of them die. Such gatherings thus become breeding places for cholera, which is carried by the pilgrims back to their villages. They are quite willing, however, to risk these dangers for the sake of the benefits received.

Characteristic of village life are the informal social gatherings of women at the well, at the shops, out in the fields, or on the way to and from the temple. The men, too, gather informally at the central meeting place of the village, which is an important feature of village life. This gathering place is a small compound containing a large tree, or sometimes several trees; it is located in the center of the *abadi* (residential section). Here, at the noon rest period or in the evening, men will gather to talk over happenings of interest in the village or in places farther afield, even in France or Mesopotamia. They also discuss matters pertaining to their work, politics, and religion. Sometimes there will be singing or an entertainment of some other sort. A visiting speaker may appear and talk on some phase of village welfare.

Marriage is a great social event in the home and the village and involves many guests, many gifts, extensive feasting, music, and sometimes dancing. Depending upon the social status and wealth of those concerned, a wedding may last from a day to more than a week.

Betrothals, the birth of a first son, the death of an aged person—all these are occasions for celebrations and feastings.

Other social and recreational events in the lives of the villagers are the coming of the family priest or of some *sunyasi;* the visit of a leading official or a national leader; the presence of visiting entertainers—story-tellers, dramatic performers, singers, musicians, dancers, snake-charmers, magicians, jugglers, etc. When none of these is at hand, the men of the village themselves get together for conversation, singing, amateur dramatics, and story-telling.

Evaluation of Civic and Social Life With Reference to Education

The history of the evolution of the village community is not only interesting but it also provides definite guidance for the social and moral development of children in school. These ancient rural groups had a strong community sense because they had common social bonds and interests; they were desirous of reaching the same ends; and they had definite responsibilities. They usually had the bond of blood or of tribal relationship. They jointly owned the land. They were banded together for protection and for supplying the needs of life. They had a voice in public affairs and in selecting their representatives. This community life, with its co-operation for common ends, is greatly needed in our schools. The discipline of social disapproval (taboo) in the social training of the individual is also suggestive for school discipline. The *panchayat* and communal assembly are valuable civic organizations, and, as has been shown in a previous chapter,[26] they have been beneficially applied in certain schools.

The tremendous social organization known as caste is a good illustration of an institution which was once a useful tool in governing and helping people but which has become a social handicap instead of a benefit. Caste enabled the early Aryans to live peaceably with the aboriginal inhabitants and to impart to them some measure of their higher civilization. It thus helped to preserve the Aryan race and culture and its developing civilization. It formerly acted as a sort of trade guild; it secured a division of labor and preserved the ancient arts and crafts. It supported and preserved Hinduism through the stress of repeated invasions; but the coming of competing religions, civilizations, and other forces and movements tended to undermine it, and now it has become a heavy burden upon the social and economic structure of India. The whole attitude toward life caused by the underlying religious principle of Karma and caste, that one is in the place where his past life and deeds have justly placed him, results often in complete lack of effort. Where such a belief holds full sway, there is serious question as to whether progress is really possible. Education must take full account of this situation and must seek to develop in pupils a more dynamic and democratic conception of life.

Education must also set itself to the task of creating more favorable attitudes with reference to women, particularly as to child marriage, *purdah*, and enforced widowhood; it should do all in its power to improve the attitude toward girl babies; to exalt the dignity of all labor, to teach hope, ambition, thrift, broad social sympathy, and unselfish social service. The emphasis upon asceticism, upon the necessity of ridding oneself of desire and of the fruits of activity; upon thinking of the world as illusion and all struggle as vain; upon living in the past; upon a fatalistic conception of one's position in life as absolutely fixed—all these cut the nerve of progress.

The recreational life of the village contains much that education should build upon and extend. It should also increase the recreational opportunities for all and should so guide them that they will have true educational value.

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[26] Chapter VIII.

The needs of the village community are undoubtedly very great and varied, but the basic need, is a hopeful and purposeful outlook that will make for a dynamic, progressive society, rather than for a static one. It is education's great task to help bring this about.

CHAPTER XIII

THE VILLAGE: RELIGIOUS LIFE

Of the many religions represented in the Punjab, the four largest are Hinduism, with 6.6 million followers, predominant in the eastern and southeastern parts of the Province; Sikhism (an offshoot of Hinduism), with 2.3 million adherents, mainly in the central Punjab; Islam, the most numerous of all, with 11.4 million, strongest in the western and west central parts; and Christianity, with .3 million adherents rather widely scattered and centered chiefly in the outcaste sections of the villages. It would be impossible within the bounds of a single chapter to give adequate treatment to the great religions of India, and therefore only a few of the main features will be described, with special reference to those ideals, attitudes, and appreciations which education must take into account.

Hinduism

Hinduism is a most composite religion noted for its wide tolerance and elasticity, its emphasis upon ceremonial and outward conformity, its deep philosophy and mysticism, and its readiness to accept principles and practices from other creeds. Originally the Indo-Aryan gods were identified with natural phenomena: the sun, the sky, the storm, the dawn, etc., and there was a time when it seemed possible that an ethical theism would develop. The inclusion of many of the beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes, however, led to a new social and religious organization, which gradually became elaborate and complicated. This was still further influenced by religious thinking and reforms, by contact with other religions, and by natural popular development. The number of gods and goddesses multiplied greatly, but only three of them stand out prominently—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Behind all these was the idea of one supreme divine Being, Brahman, spiritual, eternal, impersonal, and unknowable. Brahman only is reality, all else is *maya* (unreal). Brahman is found in all things and all things are in Brahman. Brahman is the great Unity; and the ultimate goal of man is to comprehend that fact and to become immersed in the great Spirit. Although the cause of all things, Brahman is actionless and so free from Karma, which controls all things. With these attributes, Brahman cannot be worshiped or known or involved in any activity.

Very deep systems of philosophy dealing with this complicated belief have been painstakingly developed, but the villager has no real knowledge of these. In fact, the average villager is not well acquainted with much more than the names of the major gods of the Hindu Pantheon. His familiar salutation is "Ram, Ram," but he knows little of the meaning and philosophy behind these names. He will probably not enter the temples more often than twice a year, and many villagers will not go at all. He does, however, pay considerable attention to the host of deities who are supposed to regulate the affairs of agriculture, health, and general welfare, and he is careful to observe the necessary offerings and ceremonials, for he would think it unsafe to neglect them. When pressed for his inward conviction, he will usually state that there is but one Great One and will seek to explain away and excuse the worship of images and shrines.[1] He will probably argue that the many gods are intermediaries through whom one reaches the ear of God, and since Brahman is manifested in all the gods, any one of them may be worshiped.

All this has led to a tremendous multiplication of gods, goddesses, and godlings, each of whom has many devotees. The principal gods have images and symbols, and the orthodox belief is that the gods live in them. "He lives in the temple among his people, receives from their hands the food by which he subsists, welcomes them to his presence and makes them his guests. He hears and speaks, eats and sleeps, moves and acts."[2] Fear is associated with the worship of many of these gods, for they are thought to have power over disease, calamities, material well-being, birth, etc. Primitive demonolatry and crude animism also prevail. The outcaste's world, especially, is peopled with demons and spirits which need to be constantly propitiated, for they are greatly feared. Disease, melancholia, a bad temper are attributed to the evil eye or to possession by evil spirits, and many weird ceremonies are performed for protection against them. These superstitious practices have influenced caste Hindus also, but to a lesser extent. "The number of Hindus who are altogether free from demonolatry and who put no trust in the village goddesses, must be very small indeed."[3]

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[1] *Land of the Five Rivers,* pp. 339-40.

[2] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism,* p. 317.

All this idolatry and the belief that religious power resides in things, together with the superstitious fears which have grown up about them, have greatly injured the character and outlook of the villager. He sometimes fears that it is not even right to try to eradicate an epidemic. He argues that since it is a punishment from a goddess, it must be borne. The same logic, applied to his position in life, accounts, in part, for his negative attitude, his poverty, and his lack of ambition.

In Hinduism there is no regular united public worship. The village temples are usually small, containing merely the image and objects of worship. A dwelling for the priest is located near by. There is a platform or open space in front of the temple for the worshipers. The Brahman priest rises early, bathes, and performs his own morning worship. He then washes the shrine and awakes the sleeping god by beating a drum, ringing bells, and blowing a conch shell. The god is then washed by pouring water, milk, curds, and *ghi* over it, and offerings of food are made. Sacred marks are put upon the god and he is garlanded. Incense is waved, the temple bell rung, and sacred texts are repeated. The worshipers (who are usually very few and mostly women, unless it is a special religious holiday), throw flowers, count their beads, and repeat sacred words and texts. They also remove their shoes, bow to the god, ring the bells, and beat the drum. Sometimes they receive a portion of food offered to the god, which is supposed to bring additional protection.

One of the strongest and most distinctive doctrines of Hinduism is that of Karma and the closely related teaching of transmigration, or rebirth. In Hinduism souls are thought to proceed from the divine spirit and to be incarnated in a body. The soul is affected by its own acts. If these be good (goodness being largely concerned with the observance of ceremonial, ritualistic duties and prescriptions, emotional adoration, austerity, and self-mortification), the soul tends to be released from the world of sense; but if actions are bad, the world gets a greater hold upon the soul. It is also believed that all action, good or bad, must work itself out in retribution in another birth. As fast as the "clock of retribution" runs down because of good actions, it winds itself up again, because new actions form new Karma. Depending upon whether the tendency is up or down the scale, a man may be reborn a god, or a member of the highest caste; or he may be born an animal or even an insect. The position one has in life, as well as all his joys and sorrows, is considered to be the just recompense for deeds done in earlier existences. Due to the teaching that action causes Karma, it was later developed that the quickest way to secure release from rebirth was to become altogether inactive—to shut out the world of sense, desire, and activity, and to give oneself to meditation upon God, to the practice of austerities, and to self-mortification. All this still appeals tremendously to the pious Hindu and is a potent cause of the retarding attitudes of fatalism and pessimism.

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[3] Census, 1891, I, Part I pp. 59. See also *Land of the Five Rivers* and *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, VI, 710.

The doctrine of Karma is fundamental in Hinduism. To the believer it offers a theory of the life and development of the soul; the explanation of natural phenomena; the justification of the caste system; the source of fatalism and of asceticism; the explanation of suffering and calamity; and the reason for the careful fulfillment of caste duties and ceremonial obligations. Although the philosophical aspects of the doctrines of Karma and transmigration are not fully understood, they exert a powerful influence upon the lives and characters of village people, who at least have the conception that Karma is a force working in the world, which fixes man's position in life and determines his destiny, and that it is useless to attempt to resist it. Much of the villager's inertia is obviously due to this belief.[4]

Another important element common to all forms of Hinduism is the predominance of the Brahman or priestly class. Only Brahmans can conduct worship and minister at the temples. They are the custodians and interpreters of the Vedas, which are regarded as the one eternal and divine revelation. They are to be considered holy, to be venerated, to be obeyed, and to receive the alms of the people. This veneration for the Brahman is one of the great connecting ideas which run through and bind together the many diverse forms of Hinduism. It is true, however, that, while the caste occupation of the Brahmans is religious and pedagogical, an increasing number of them are engaging in other occupations, and while they still have great prestige, their influence and wealth are less than formerly.

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[4] See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Reference has been made to the very great importance of ceremonial laws and regulations. These regulations are known as Dharma and cover almost every phase of the Hindu's life—marriage, food, social life, occupation. There are a very large number of these regulations, the minor ones and the ones inapplicable to modern life being usually neglected or forgotten. The strictly obligatory ordinances which a Hindu must obey fall into three groups dealing with family, caste, and religion:

> An orthodox Hindu must have been born in a Hindu family; must have undergone all the necessary ceremonies as a child and young man; must continue to live as a member of his family, obeying all the regulations and fulfilling all the duties of a householder. These duties include the domestic sacraments; the veneration of ancestors, the worship of the family gods, and the observance of the annual feasts and seasons of worship.
>
> An orthodox Hindu must have been born into a Hindu caste; must have undergone initiation . . . and must continue to observe the rules and regulations which are traditional to his own caste regarding marriage, food and drink, social intercourse, travel, etc.
>
> An orthodox Hindu must worship the gods; he must acknowledge the Vedas as the one revelation and he must employ Brahmans for all priestly duties, whether in his home or elsewhere.
>
> The liberties of the Hindu are outside this circle of Dharma. A man may remain an orthodox Hindu without believing in any god or any theology and without knowing or reading any sacred book. . . . No question is raised so long as he conforms to usage.[5]

This principle of emphasizing outward conformity has doubtless had its effect upon the villager. Certain it is that his life and actions are largely controlled by custom; that he tends to follow what public opinion and social usage approve; that even when he cannot possibly afford any large expenditure for a marriage, he will yet do what tradition emphasizes, although it may involve mortgaging his whole future.

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[5] Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

True asceticism is held in high regard in India. That man is regarded as the highest product of Hinduism who leaves the world; who by rigorous self-mortification, self-torture, and penance seeks to subdue desire; who by discipline of mind and body rises above action and illusion; who seeks to gain an insight into the real and eternal; and who by his asceticism seeks to secure power with the gods and over men and nature. Villagers will gladly take the dust from such a man's feet and place it on their heads. In ancient times this ascetic movement was a great intellectual and religious force, for it attracted some of the ablest and best men, who produced a lofty literature and philosophy. "As long as the world lasts, men will look back with wonder upon the ascetics of India. . . . For nearly three thousand years they have stood forth, a speaking testimony to the supremacy of the spiritual."[6]

The present ascetic movement, however, is of very different character from that described above. The spiritual and cultured men of intellectual gifts are few, while the mediocre and unworthy are many. Many ascetics are now ignorant men who often know little about their religion and are content merely to use the sectarian *mantra* (watchword) and the symbols of their order. Yet even when moral irregularities, ignorance, and lack of spirituality are known, the villager still regards the mendicant highly. "The ascetic conviction is so ingrained in the Hindu mind, that let a man but wear the mendicant's garb and profess contempt for the world, he is at once installed as a spiritual guide and worshiped as such."[7] In the Punjab alone there are 277,000 Fakirs by caste (Moslem and Hindu), 36,000 Madaris, and 69,000 Jogis. Probably a considerable number of these are not members of religious orders, but even when such allowance is made, the burden of so many economically non-productive people in a province is great.

Harmlessness (*ahimsa*) is another principle which is strongly emphasized in Hinduism. This is based upon the idea that all life is sacred and that no holy man can take life. This applies not only to animal life but also to insect and vegetable life. It is this idea which lies at the basis of the begging of food by holy men and the emphasis upon a vegetarian diet.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[7] Pandit S. N. Sastri, *Mission of the Brahmo Samaj*, pp. 58-59.

Salvation, according to the Hindu conception, is thought of as release from individual existence and not as release from sin followed by the gradual growth of a transformed character. Hindus emphasize three ways in which this salvation may be obtained: (1) Through Dharma, virtuous action. This is conceived of as the strict observance of Hindu ritual and caste observances. (2) Through Bhakti, devotion to God, which is largely thought of as ecstatic, emotional adoration. (3) Through Jnana, attainment of knowledge of the true nature of things, through self-mortification, discipline, and meditation. The last is beyond the mental capacity and training of the villager; the second involves more time than he can give; so that he is largely confined to the first—to securing merit by being faithful to outward observances of ceremonial and caste. He has a strong belief in the value of "merit" and thinks there is practically nothing it cannot accomplish. Merit is secured by going to the temple; bathing every morning; counting beads; repeating the name of God or some sacred *mantra*; going on a pilgrimage; fasting; feeding the Brahmans; being kind to animals; venerating the cow. The cow, as might be expected with an agricultural people, is held in high regard because it is so necessary to their life; but it now has deep religious significance, and orthodox Hindus look upon cow slaughter as one of the greatest of sins.

It is striking what a little place ethics and morals have in popular Hinduism and the extent to which social service and progress are neglected. This is probably due to several influences. One of these is that the root of evil is believed to reside in the intellect and not in the will. It is ignorance and not moral fault which prevents the soul from realizing its oneness with the Absolute. Moreover, when full knowledge is attained, it is believed that the desires will not be trained towards either good or evil, but rather that the root of desire will be cut. The moral ideal is thus not fulfilled but transcended. The conception of Brahman as the only reality and all else as illusion, also tends to undervalue the reality of right and wrong. The emphasis upon asceticism indicates a goal incompatible with that of individual and social progress. This probably accounts for the emphasis upon the passive virtues, such as harmlessness, mortification, patience, purity (ceremonial), self-control, humility, devotion. The positive virtues emphasized are: hospitality, liberality, valor, fidelity, worship, and ceremonial cleanliness.

The villager's conception of sin is that it is wrong to take life—any kind of life, for all life is part of the Supreme; that it is wrong to steal, to cheat, to remove a neighbor's landmark, or to take his crops; to weigh with a false balance; that it is an evil thing to lie or to bear false witness; that it is wicked to cast an evil look upon another. Losing one's temper, worldliness, lack of hospitality, and breach of ceremonial observance are also evil.

Some reference has been made to the large place superstition has in the life of the villager, but it needs more specific emphasis because of the way his life and work are influenced by it. The cultivator waits for a lucky day to begin his agricultural work; often before ploughing or taking the first water from a well there are special ceremonies. Ceremonies and charms are used to prevent the destruction of his crops or the death of his cattle. Great spiritual value is attached to the repetition of the name of God or of a sectarian *mantra* (watchword). Sacred marks are worn on the forehead; the twice-born castes wear sacred cords; sacred necklaces of berries or the stem of the tulsi plant are worn; children wear a cord with an amulet attached to ward off the evil eye; there must be auspicious days for weddings and family ceremonies, etc. In some parts of the Punjab magic is still preferred to inoculation for preventing disease. In Rohtak a favored remedy for cattle disease is a rope strung across the entrance to the village with little tin boxes containing charms suspended from it. In the same district to chew a peacock's feather is regarded as sufficient remedy for a cobra bite. In some backward parts of the province very curious, superstitious practices are resorted to in order to bring rain. Starting a quarrel or beating someone so that his cries and tears will attract the attention of the gods to their plight, is one of the methods. In another place the pouring of many waterpots of water over an official is believed to have brought a much needed rain.

The reform movements within Hinduism and many of its present educated leaders are advocating a living, spiritual religion rather than a superstitious, idolatrous, formal religion of outward ceremony. These movements are gradually having their influence in the villages, as are also the faithful, persistent efforts of social workers, educators, publicists, and missionaries. One of the most active of these religious reform movements in the Punjab is the Arya Samaj. This movement emphasizes early Aryan beliefs and practices. Its advocates regard the Vedas as the only true revelation and contend that since these are God's wisdom and knowledge, they contain all the truths of religion and even those of science. Their interpretation emphasizes that there is one personal God and no other; that transmigration and Karma are the laws that govern human life, and that forgiveness is impossible. They deny the existence of polytheism in the Vedas and condemn all worship of images. Although the founder of the Arya Samaj condemned caste, the Samaj has not been able entirely to rid itself of caste influence. Despite the belief in Karma, the Arya Samaj is now earnestly seeking to uplift the depressed classes from their degradation.

SIKHISM

Baba Nanak was the founder of the Sikh sect, a reform movement growing out of Hinduism. He was a disciple of Kabir and like him he would have nothing to do with idolatry. He taught that there is one God, the God of the universe, of all mankind, and of all religions. He revolted against a religion which made ceremonial and social restrictions a grievous burden for the people, and he taught that salvation lay in repentance and in pure, righteous conduct. He believed in transmigration but held that the successive stages were but purifications and that at the last the soul, cleansed from its sin, went to dwell with its Maker. He prescribed no caste rules or ceremonial observances and indeed condemned them as unnecessary, but he made no violent attack upon caste. He was very tolerant and sought to bring Hindu and Moslem together by drawing men's minds away from the unimportant and the external to the deeper things of the spirit.

Under the fifth guru, Arjann, Amritsar was made the religious center of the Sikhs; the Sikh scriptures, the *Granth*, were compiled; the Sikh religious influence and prestige were strengthened; and considerable wealth was accumulated.

Because of religious persecutions, the Sikhs later organized themselves as a military society, and this affected some change in their beliefs—zeal and courage became ways of securing salvation, and the eating of flesh was encouraged to produce physical strength. A brotherhood free from caste, to which all castes were to be admitted, was organized. A ceremony of initiation served to admit one to this society. Five outward signs proclaimed the faith: unshorn hair, iron bangle, comb, short steel dagger, and short drawers. A sacrament of union and fellowship was introduced. All were inspired with the hope of social freedom and of national independence. The title of Singh (lion) was given to each one; all were to abstain from tobacco; they were to bow to nought visible save the *Granth*, and their watchword and greeting were to be, "Hail, Guru." Ultimately the Sikhs conquered nearly the whole of northwestern India, but their defeat by the British in two campaigns brought an end to their political power.

At the time when Guru Govind Singh admitted people of all castes into his organization and emphasized its military purpose, quite a number of the higher classes left his leadership and reverted to the teachings of Baba Nanak, the founder, and now the two groups are to be found in the Punjab. The latter are very closely allied to the Hindus. In fact the tendency has been for Sikhs and Hindus to drift together, and it is not uncommon for some members of a family to be Sikhs and others Hindu, or for Sikhs and Hindus to worship in the same *gurdwara*. In 1920 a movement took definite shape in which a religious reform party, composed of the Singhs under the leadership of Akalis, sought to obtain possession of the Sikh *gurdwaras*. Violence and serious conflict resulted, necessitating efforts by Government to maintain order. The matter became a political as well as a religious issue and was a very serious matter until 1925, when a compromise was finally reached.

Through such close contact with other religions and through historical developments, changes in the principles taught by the gurus have occurred. Caste has more of a hold than it did formerly; certain groups of Sikhs are not free from idol worship; some Sikhs go on pilgrimages to visit Hindu temples; and the sacred book is treated with such great veneration that to the ignorant it becomes almost an image.

The Sikh reform movement already referred to has stirred the Sikhs tremendously even in remote villages, and has brought about a great revival of interest and enthusiasm so that the "Singh" section has gained in numbers and prestige.

ISLAM

The religion with the largest number of followers in the Punjab is Islam. The outstanding conviction of Islam is its belief in one God, who is transcendental, almighty, just, all-knowing, and all-merciful. Ninety-three intellectual and metaphysical attributes are ascribed to God, but the average Moslem does not emphasize God's immanence or agree with the Christian that God is love. The Moslem believes that God has created man and rules his destiny and all that occurs is God's will; all things are predestined. This attitude of fatalism rules the Moslem's life and often serves not only as an explanation of events but as an excuse for lack of enterprise. Moslems are rigid monotheists and are bitterly opposed to idolatry or to any representation of God. They also assert that there can be no incarnation of God, but that God does send prophets and teachers, of whom Mohammed is considered the last and the chief. This fact is constantly brought to the believer's attention in the brief, effective creed and in the call to prayer. Mohammed as the prophet of God claims the obedience and loyalty of his people.

Moslems believe that God has revealed himself in a book—the Koran. Such revelation has been direct, verbal, and mechanical. "God spoke to Gabriel and Gabriel to Mohammed." The Koran, with the "Traditions," provides the Moslem with his guide for life and conduct. Quite a number of happenings and injunctions in these, which are out of accord with present-day ethics and ideals, have been allegorized and spiritualized by Moslem leaders.

Worship is carried out according to prescribed forms at definite times. Great emphasis is laid upon the ritual's being accurately followed. Prayer must be offered five times each day, with the face turned towards Mecca; certain washings must precede prayer; definite postures are used as the prescribed prayer is repeated. Congregational prayer is carried through with clockwork precision and regularity, all worshipers responding automatically. The rhythmic, sing-song call to prayer seems appropriate to a desert religion—to wide spaces.

Islam also constitutes a great brotherhood of believers. No one is barred on account of race, caste, or position. All are welcome and once within the faith they form a united group, not only locally but nationally. In fact, the bonds of Islam often transcend the bounds of nationality, and despite the Moslems remaining faithful to Great Britain in the Great War, succeeding events have shown to what extent their sympathies were with their religious brethren in the post-war settlements. The one outstanding denial of this brotherhood and equality is the treatment of women, who have been kept secluded, have been kept in ignorance, and have suffered other disabilities. Moslems have often been bigoted and severe with non-believers, but this has not been evident in recent years in the same form as previously. The Hindu-Moslem jealousy and antipathy have been very prominent recently, however, and have caused much concern to the well-wishers of India.

Moslems believe in forgiveness as an arbitrary act of God; they believe in a future existence—a heaven containing the pleasures of this world greatly magnified; they believe in a resurrection and final judgment. They approve of fasts and pilgrimages to Mecca. They observe a number of holidays, most of these being of a religious nature. Islam has always been a missionary religion, and it is so in India, especially with regard to the lower classes. Missionaries are also sent abroad.

In the villages of the Punjab, Islam has been affected by its contact with other religions and peoples, especially in the eastern part of the province. Here there is a larger tolerance; early marriages are emphasized, and sometimes Hindu holidays are observed. Caste has also exerted its influence, as have also some superstitious practices, and there are heavy expenditures made for marriages and similar social observances.

> The so-called Musalmans of the villages [in the eastern Punjab] were till quite lately Musalmans in little but name. They practiced

circumcision; repeated the Moslem profession of faith and worshiped the village deities. But after the mutiny a great revival took place. Moslem priests traveled far and wide through the country preaching the true faith and calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices. And now almost every village, in which Musalmans own any considerable portion of land, has its own mosque, (often of adobe only) while all the grosser and more open idolatries have been discontinued. But the villager of the East Punjab is still a very bad Musalman. A peasant saying his prayers in the field is a sight almost unknown; the fasts are almost universally disregarded and there is still a very large admixture of Hindu practice. The Musalman of these villages has been said to observe the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither. And indeed it is hardly possible that it should be otherwise. Conversion was seldom due to conviction, but was either forcible or made under pressure of the fear of confiscation.[8]

In addition to this, Hindus and Moslems often live in the same village; they are sometimes members of the same families and this close relationship and a common tradition has led to a mixture of religious practices.

In the Western Punjab, Islam has been for a much longer time the religion of the majority of the people. Along the frontier the Moslem faith probably dates back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The people of the Western plains very generally attribute their conversion to Baha-ul-Haqq of Multan and Baba Farid of Pakpattan, who about the end of the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth century attracted many followers to themselves. These Musalmans are more orthodox in their belief and in their attendance upon the weekly service at the mosque. However, the observance of the five times of daily prayer and the long annual fast are not general. They are loyal to their faith, as they understand it, and enthusiastic about it. As a community they are heavily involved in debt, and have until recently been backward in education and conservative in outlook and practice. The common saying about untoward happenings is that it is God's will, and this blind conviction that man is ruled by fate dominates their life. Hence there is a tendency to underestimate ambition and to regard laws, customs, and traditions as fixed for all times and places. The many tendencies toward reform in the Islamic world—educational, political, social, and religious are certain in time to react upon the village, much more than they have done in the past. The enlarged output of Islamic literature and newspapers as people become literate will also have its effect. In the Urdu language alone, there are now 149 papers and magazines edited by Moslems.

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[8] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 354.

A very regrettable phase of the religious situation is the antagonism, antipathy, and jealousy which exists in some parts of the province between Hindus and Moslems. The causes of this friction are many. The following are illustrative points of difference: The Hindu venerates the cow and has strong convictions about the taking of life, while the Moslem requires the sacrifice of animals in connection with his worship. Hindus desire music in their processions, while music is an abomination near a Moslem place of worship. The Hindu images and idolatrous practices are a deep offense to the strong monotheism of the Moslem. Sometimes religious festivals of each of the communities are observed about the same time and especially if one is a joyous affair and the other a time of mourning there is likely to be some conflict.

Socially, in rural sections, the communities are kept apart; there is practically no eating together, little intimate social fellowship, and no intermarriage. Separate drinking water and food are necessary in public places. There are also differences in language, both colloquial and classical. Economically, the Moslems of the villages are usually in debt to the Hindus. Politically, the two groups have separate representation, and communal rights have been carefully safeguarded. Very close watch on each other is kept by these communities, so that neither one shall receive political or economic benefits in excess of its share. The outlook for harmony and co-operation is not hopeless, however. Education, the National Movement, the Hindu-Moslem Unity Campaign, social service, co-operative organizations, and the work of far-sighted leaders are agencies which give promise of future unity.

EVALUATION OF RELIGIOUS LIFE WITH REFERENCE TO EDUCATION

It cannot be stressed too strongly that religion is a supreme fact in Indian life, and no progress in education or in any other phase of life will be possible without taking it into consideration. Religion molds the activities, attitudes, outlook—in fact, the whole life of the people. The unseen world is very real to them; they do not differentiate between the secular and the spiritual. Otherworldliness dominates their actions. Religious leaders, traditions, and authority exert a powerful influence. The life of asceticism, of repose, of meditation, of renunciation, of a persistent search after God still appeals to the heart of India. Religion continues to mold not only the home life, the economic life, and the social life, but it is also a motivating force in politics. There is thus ample evidence of a deep-seated capacity for religious feeling, self-sacrifice, meditation, devotion, and mysticism among the people of India. Contact with the more dynamic civilizations, larger educational opportunities, greater economic, social, and political responsibilities, and contact with other religions and ideals may alter the form and expression of religion, but its vital importance in the life of the Indian will remain.

The task of education, therefore, is to help in directing religious development so that it may foster the highest type of individual and of society. This may be done only if education recognizes those elements in the religions of India which make for retrogression and decay and which should therefore be abolished or transformed, and those elements which, because of their fineness and spirituality, deserve to be used and developed.

To the former belong the prevalence of idolatry, fear, and superstition; the mechanical but dominating force of Karma and the frustrating belief in transmigration; the absolute rule of the priest; the emphasis on outward ceremony and conformity; the fatalistic attitude and the lack of effort; the inadequate social ethics and social service; the belittling of life and effort and all the pessimistic, static, negative attitudes that result from it; the prevailing religious antagonisms. All these prevent progress, and education must set itself to abolish them in every way that it can.

To the latter class belong the longing and the search for God, which is the central fact in all the religions of India; the religious feeling and devotion developed in the Indian by his religion; the qualities of patient endurance and renunciation, of mysticism and imagination, and of meditation. India's life has been permeated with these qualities of her religions, and education should make use of them, build upon them, and develop them.

Further than this, education should teach the great religious lessons that God is concerned with each individual's need and desires the fullest and richest growth of his personality; that there is hope for each individual no matter what his present position in life; that in losing one's life in the service of others one truly finds it; and that through fellowship and co-operation with the Divine there is promise of a real democracy of God.

In other words, the great need of the Indian people is a social and spiritual dynamic which will uplift and transform life and bring vision, growth, fellowship, service. No worthy curriculum can be made that does not recognize this fact.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VILLAGE: ECONOMIC LIFE

AGRICULTURE

MOST OF the residents of the villages in the Punjab are associated with agriculture; even those that do not till the land gain their livelihood chiefly from those that do. The whole village economy rotates about agriculture, and hence its condition is of primary importance to one who would understand village life.

Of the sixty million acres in the British Punjab, twenty-seven million are cropped and eighteen million consist of cultivable waste and fallow, leaving a balance of fifteen million acres. Of these, five million consist of mountain acres and river beds, which have little worth for agriculture.

The largest and most valuable crop in the Punjab is wheat. Nine million acres (five million irrigated and four unirrigated), are sown, which produce 2.8 million tons. Other grain crops maturing in the spring are barley and oilseeds, and the chief autumn crops are rice, maize, bajra, jowar, sugar cane, and cotton. About three-fifths of all the crops belong to the spring harvest.

The major portion of the province contains a deep alluvial soil of great natural fertility. It varies from a rich to a light sandy loam, with very little clay. It requires little artificial drainage, and only a small expenditure of capital is needed to bring it under cultivation and to maintain its crop-bearing capacity.

The meagre rainfall[1] is supplemented by an extensive system of canals tapping the rivers of the Punjab and turning what was formerly waste land into fertile fields.[2] Wells are also used for irrigation and their number has been increasing rapidly. Where the water-level is not more than thirty-five or forty feet below the surface, the water is raised by means of Persian wheels. Further south, where the water-level is lower, the Persian wheel is replaced by the less efficient rope and large leather bag.

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[1] See page 188.

[2] In 1922 ten and a half million acres were irrigated by canal, and this will be increased by five million acres (two million in British territory and three million in native states) when the new Sutlej Valley irrigation project is completed.—J. Coatman, *India in 1926-27*, pp. 124-25.

As a general rule the agriculturist works with primitive methods and tools. He knows what he can accomplish with them and he is loath to try out the new. He is content with his primitive plow, consisting of a wooden tongue and iron point, though it only scratches up the soil. After plowing, he goes over the field with a *sohaga* (wooden clodcrusher). The resulting tilth is not bad in a light fertile soil, but aeration extends only three or four inches. Besides the plow, the clodcrusher, and the simple bamboo yoke held in place on the oxen's necks by wooden or iron pins, the farmer's tools are only light hand implements. There is the *Kahi* (spade), the *baguri* (hoe), the *datri* (sickle), the *karah* (earthboard for moving earth and leveling), the *chhaj* (old-fashioned winnowing tray used when the wind is depended upon to remove the chaff from the grain), the *gandasa* (crude chopper), the *tanguli* (wooden fork), and the *khurpa* (small hand hoe which requires one to squat in order to use it). The cost of all these implements would not be more than Rs. 30 ($10), and the annual cost of replacement would be about Rs. 9 ($3.00).

Improved plows,[3] hoes, drills, rakes, reapers, and iron sugarcane presses are now available at prices within reasonable reach of the agriculturist's financial resources, they are not too far removed in their use from the type of implement he is accustomed to, and they are based upon the fact that human labor is more abundant and cheaper than mechanical power. Yet their adoption is extremely slow for a number of reasons, among which are ignorance, inertia, conservatism, lack of capital, dearth of strong plow cattle, the inability of village people to repair strange tools, the small holdings, and the extensive fragmentation of these holdings.[4] The use of improved methods and implements in the study, demonstration and practice of agriculture in the schools is obviously one of the best methods to hasten the adoption of improved methods and implements in the agricultural life of the people.

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[3] Several cheap and effective modern plows (for light soils) are now available. The Meston (at Rs. 15), which will turn up a 6″ to 7″ furrow is winning its way very slowly over the ordinary indigenous variety. Out of 2¼ million plows in the province, probably not more than 40,000 are of a modern type.—Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 178. Also *Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab, 1921-22,* p. 40.

One of the greatest hindrances to successful agriculture is the lack of fertilizers. There are several reasons for this lack. First, cow-dung is made into cakes and used for fuel even in districts where wood is abundant, partly because of custom and partly because of the belief that cow-dung is better and cheaper for use in the *huqqa* (tobacco pipe). What little manure is used for fertilizer is collected in large heaps outside the village or in small heaps in the fields and allowed to stand so long that much of its value is lost through seepage and fermentation. It has been estimated that the average cultivator with a pair of oxen does not secure manure for more than two acres, whereas he should have enough for much more than that. Second, many materials having fertilizing value, such as urine, night soil, and vegetable wastes, are not utilized; bone meal is seldom used because of the religious prejudices of the Hindus and also because of the great difficulty in preparing it. Third, chemical fertilizers are seldom purchased because it is believed that they cost too much for the benefits resulting from their use. In some places ashes of burnt leaves and plants are used, and sometimes herds of sheep and goats are turned into the fields for several nights. When the soil is very poor, green manuring is tried, hemp being plowed under when the plants are young and green.

As to methods of cultivation, the number of plowings made depends upon the soil, the crop to be sown, and what crop has preceded it. It also depends upon the character of the cultivator, the Jat and the Arain generally plowing oftener than the members of other tribes. R. L. Bhalla, in a careful study of the plowing of a Jat and a Rajput in the same type of soil and with similar oxen and plows, found that the former plowed deeper, made more furrows, and more thoroughly covered the whole field. The Jat also plowed oftener before casting his seed.[5]

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[4] In the three years before 1922 only 1, 257 improved harrows and 432 rotating fodder cutters were sold, despite the fact that the price was kept low.—*Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab, 1921-22,* p. 40.

For wheat, if it follows maize, four or five plowings are made in a sandy loam soil. If only one crop is sown in a year, from eight to twelve plowings are made. The seed is either scattered or is dropped through a tube behind the plow. The quantity used depends upon the quality of the soil and the character of the sower and varies from ten seers to forty seers per acre.[5a] The field is weeded only once or twice, little being done after the crop has been in two months. After sowing, water or rain is needed three or four times at intervals of from twenty to twenty-five days. Little or nothing is done to conserve moisture. When the wheat is ripe it is cut by hand with a sickle and is then gathered and tied into sheaves by hand. The grain is threshed by bullocks treading it out and dragging after them a rather heavy wooden cradle. The winnowing is done by lifting the wheat and chaff high above one's head in a basket and letting it fall to the ground, the wind separating the chaff from the grain. Considerable loss results from growing various kinds of wheat in the same field and making no attempt to separate the different types. Wheat and other grain are also grown together, especially in unirrigated tracts, because it is felt that less moisture is demanded by this arrangement and that at least one of the crops, even in a bad season, will give a fair yield. This mixture of crops is a common practice in the Punjab.

Similar methods of cultivation are used in connection with other crops, the only differences being matters of detail. The type of crop sown on unirrigated tracts is usually well selected on the basis of the smaller amount of water needed, but little is done to keep the soil open and thus conserve the moisture.

Pests and diseases of plants are rather common, especially in the dry season. The agricultural research department of the Government has done considerable investigating along these lines and has sent out to cultivators necessary information for dealing with plant disease. Demonstrations of the benefits of the suggested treatment have also been made. The illiterate farmer is again under a disadvantage in not being able to read the circulars and bulletins, and there are also great difficulties in persuading him to use the treatment. The commonest rotation in ordinary loam soils is to put in a spring and an autumn crop in succession and let the ground lie fallow for a year. Some lands dependent on rainfall entirely are sown only in the autumn, as the hot weather following the spring planting so frequently dries up what is planted.

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[5] *An Economic Survey of Bairampur,* pp. 45-46.

[5a] A seer is a variable weight—about 2 lbs.

On the whole, the value of leguminous crops as fertilizers is not realized. The cultivator does not wish to exhaust the soil and, so far as his knowledge goes, he tries to follow a good rotation with rather long fallows, but here, as in other things, he depends upon traditional rather than scientific procedure.[6]

The agriculturist, when prosperous, will try to keep over for seed that portion of the crop which he considers the best. If no seed has been preserved in this way, he will often at the time of sowing purchase seed locally from the shop-keeper, or, what is more frequent, will promise to repay 1½ or 1¼ times the amount of seed borrowed at the time of harvest. This amounts to interest at a rate of 50 per cent to 100 per cent. Such local seed is usually of mixed varieties and of poor quality, much of it often infertile. It probably has value as food, but used as seed it simply rots in the ground. The shop-keeper is not concerned with the germinating power of the grain, being usually only desirous of securing the highest price for the cheapest article.

Pure seed, both of wheat and cotton can now be obtained from the Lyallpur and Montgomery Canal Colonies at reasonable rates. Cultivators appreciate this service increasingly, for good seed yields larger returns probably faster than any other improvement. In the past three years an average of 227 tons of selected wheat seed and 440 tons of selected cotton seed have been sold each year by these colonies.

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[6] Lucas found in his observation of four fields (containing a sandy loam soil) over a period of four years that wheat was cultivated four times and was followed by fodder crops. Wheat and grain mixed were sown eight times and maize ten times. Four times the land was allowed to remain fallow and sugar cane and cotton were each sown once.—*The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, pp. 87-88. Bhalla found that the percentage of the area left fallow to the whole area (on sandy loam) was 26½ per cent, and that fodder, wheat, barley, fallow was the order used.—*An Economic Survey of Bairampur*, pp. 71-79.

In recent years, due to Government experimentation, much better varieties of wheat and cotton seed have been discovered. These have not been thoroughly acclimated as yet, but they have, on the whole, a good record. At present, country wheat yields about 14 bushels an acre, whereas, "Punjab 11" and "Punjab 8A" yield from 1½ to 4 bushels more per acre. The results with cotton have been very striking. A larger yield per acre, with a longer staple and a quality bringing a higher price upon the market have been produced with the new seed. In 1908 there was but a single experiment with the improved seed, but in 1920 it was sown over 700,000 acres. It is estimated that in 1918 alone it put an extra 120 lakhs of rupees (£800,000) of gross profits into the farmers' pockets.

The cost of cultivation and the net profits are difficult to calculate, because the cultivator seldom measures his crop yields or keeps account of costs and profits.[7] But a study of available statistics shows that the cultivator at present has as his goal mere subsistence and not profit. His average production is very low; he is wasteful in his efforts; his aim is largely to supply the immediate needs of himself and family and he generally rests content when this is accomplished.[8] The relatively small number of days he works each year is significant. Lucas and Bhalla have both calculated this for the villages they surveyed in the Hoshiarpur District. Bhalla found, in working out the annual time table of two brothers cultivating 13½ acres of land, that they were busily employed for 2,785½ hours, or, considering ten hours as a day's work, they labored the equivalent of 278½ days. This means that 86½ days of the year were not utilized. Those who have smaller holdings are not so busy as this.[9] Lucas found that a cultivator working four acres of land put in only 1,566 hours per year, or 156½ days. Farmers with such small holdings are doing little of economic value for 200 days of the year, even though they may do a little work each day.[10]

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[7] According to the statistics gathered in Bairampur it was found that the average income per acre of fodder was Rs. 21.8, while the expense, including the feeding of the oxen, interest on their value and on implements, together with depreciation, was Rs. 10.9; hence the net income per acre, after feeding five head of cattle, was about Rs. 11 (£0-14-8). With regard to wheat, the gross income per acre was Rs. 64.5 for wheat and Rs. 21 for straw or Rs. 85.5. The expenses were Rs. 32 per acre, including all costs. The net income accordingly was Rs. 53.5 per acre for wheat (£3-11-4). For sugarcane, the income on the *gur* prepared from the cane was Rs. 134.3 per acre, while the cost of cultivation, crushing the cane, and boiling the sap was Rs. 65.3, leaving an income of Rs. 69 per acre for sugarcane. (£4-12-0.) In these expenses are included the cost of laborers employed for seeding, harvesting, preparing *gur*, etc.—Bhalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-26.

[8] "There is an enormous difference between the results produced by the various cultivating castes; yet the difference between the best and the worst is nothing to the difference which could be made in the best by the introduction of scientific methods and continuous labor."—*Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 281-82.

Another reason for the small income of the farmer is the fact that he is prevented by pride of caste from engaging in any other manual labor than his own. In other lands where the holdings are small, the cultivator carries on a very intensive, diversified type of farming. He plants those vegetables and crops which bring a large return compared to their bulk and he carefully manures and cultivates his soil, so that he can secure as continuous a harvest as possible. This practice is not followed in the Punjab, where the small holdings are still cultivated by the wasteful extensive method. Caste debars the cultivator from market-gardening and also from stock-breeding. He accordingly grows the traditional crops, which are profitable only on large tracts of land where the work must be carefully organized. As Mr. Calvert says:

> He is at present attempting the impossible task of making a living out of a small holding or an allotment, by methods adapted to extensive areas. He ignores all the elements of success. . . . He follows methods of cultivation that could only pay with a holding of several hundred acres.[11]

Moreover, it has been found that, partly because of the cultivator's general philosophy of life and partly because of his agricultural tradition, he is averse to doing any more than is necessary for subsistence. Many farmers would rather reduce their wants than increase their exertions. If anything occurs to lessen the necessity of labor, crop production decreases.[12]

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[9] *An Economic Survey of Bairampur,* pp. 151-54.

[10] *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village,* pp. 57-59.

[11] *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab,* p. 82.

[12] It has been estimated that with a holding of fifty acres, cultivated efficiently, 3,127 hours per year, or 313 days, will be required. Yet fifty acres

The Punjab province is often spoken of as the province *par excellence* of the cultivating proprietor; "yet out of a total cultivated area of twenty-nine million acres in 1918-19, nearly fifteen million acres were cultivated by tenants."[13] Moreover, the area under tenancy in the Punjab is increasing, the last Census showing that the number of persons living on agricultural rents has increased from 625,000 to over a million.[14] It is feared that one cause of this is the high prices received for produce, which have enabled cultivators to rent out part of their lands and thus to satisfy their modest requirements by living on these rents and the proceeds from their smaller cultivated areas. So far as this is true, it is a decided economic loss. On the other hand, in the Canal Colonies and the Central Punjab more work is being done and high prices have only acted as a stimulus to greater interest and exertion. Tenants are increasing their holdings, are becoming small owners, and are taking advantage of present conditions to improve their status.[15]

In the Punjab there are three classes of tenants: (1) Occupancy tenants, where the holder has an hereditary right to cultivate the land on payment of a fixed rent to the owner. This rent may be an economic one but is usually merely nominal. So long as this rent is paid, occupancy cannot be disturbed. Such tenants also have a pre-emptive claim to purchase land in the village. About 11 per cent of the cultivated area in the East and West Punjab is held by this class of tenant; (2) Those who cultivate land under decree of court, lease, or special agreement; (3) Tenants-at-will, who are only so far protected that they cannot be ejected save after issue of notice through a court of law. These notices are issued only at particular seasons of the year, and opportunity is given to any tenant either to contest his ejectment or to claim compensation for unexhausted improvements, provided he can prove he had the assent of his landlord to make them—a difficult thing to prove.

Government lands in canal areas have been given to settlers on a modified form of occupancy tenantry. Certain conditions

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is considered a large holding in the Punjab, and for cultivating it extra help would probably be employed or part of the holding would be given to tenants.—Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[13] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 122.

[14] *Punjab Census Report, 1921*, paragraph 223.

[15] Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 168.

or standards have to be fulfilled, and after some years of satisfactory occupation, the majority of those who do not hold the land on special conditions, are allowed to purchase proprietary rights in their tenancies.

Statistics show that the area cultivated by occupancy tenants and the average area cultivated by tenants-at-will are increasing.[16]

According to an inquiry carried out by Inspectors of Cooperative Societies, it was found that

> tenants generally take less care in preparing the land for crops, plough it less often, manure it less and use fewer implements upon it than owners. They grow less valuable crops, especially avoiding those involving capital; they make little or no effort at improving their fields; they keep a lower type of cattle; they avoid perennials and bestow no care on trees. They show a stronger disinclination than even small owners do to have their children educated and have not yet grasped the importance of organizing themselves for the more profitable conduct of their industry. The system of paying a proportion of the crop as rent (*batai*) which is steadily supplanting cash rents, accentuates most of these tendencies and militates against a proper rotation of crops. This system also favors extensive cultivation and discourages intensive work, owing to the law of diminishing returns. The evil is increased by the high price of land, which is rising faster than rentals and so making it not only impossible but unprofitable for tenants to become owners; while mortgages and sales are steadily adding to the number of fields cultivated under tenancy conditions.[17]

Remedies for the above evils would seem to be the giving of greater security of tenure, a fair cash rent, free sale of tenancy rights, and larger holdings. A holding of fifty or more acres held on the above terms, on which a tenant would put his energy, skill in farming, and efficient management would mean much to the individual, to the community, and to agricultural progress. However, at present, holdings in the Punjab, especially in well-irrigated regions, are very small.[18] The districts of Jullundur, Gurdaspur, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, and Rawalpindi average less than five acres, while only five districts (outside of the Canal Colonies) have holdings averaging more than ten acres. These are Hissar, Ferozepur, Gujranwala, Attock, and Multan. Some of these districts have low rainfalls and little in the way of irrigation benefits. In the Canal colonies no peasant proprietor starts with less than 12½ acres and usually with more than this amount. Even now, after a whole generation, the average holding in the Lyallpur colony is eighteen acres.[19]

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[16] Lucas found the same thing in his study of Kabirpur. Forty-six and three-tenths (46.3) per cent of the area was cultivated by the owners, while 53.7 per cent was cultivated by tenants. Of these only .8 per cent were occupancy tenants, the remainder being tenants-at-will. Twenty and five-tenths (20.5) per cent paid their rent in kind; 5.7 per cent paid no rent (poor land); the remainder paying cash rents. Tenants-at-will have only conditional freedom to carry out improvements; no fixity of tenure; and imperfect protection against enhancement of rent or eviction, when they increase the productivity of their fields by sinking capital into them.—*The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, p. 66.

[17] Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93. See also *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, December 3, 1917.

It is estimated that to support his family in comfort a Punjabi requires from ten to fifteen acres of irrigated land.[20] Such an estimate is, of course, a very general one, for the fertility of the land, the uses to which it is put, the nearness to markets, the standard of living implied, are all variable factors. However, if this is only approximately correct, it means that the great majority of cultivators must use much greater enterprise, knowledge, co-operation, and capital in order to make their eight acres or less, yield a proper living. But cultivation is handicapped not only by the smallness of the individual holding but by its excessive fragmentation. The laws of inheritance demand that each son receive an equal share of his father's land. This equality is not only one of quantity but also one of quality. The various pieces of land left by the father are split up into as many fragments as there are different soils, so that each son may get an exactly equal share of every kind of land—good, bad, and indifferent. This "repeated partition leads to more and more scattered holdings and it is not unusual to find an owner of no more than three acres, with thirty or more separate fields scattered about over an area of two or three square miles.[21]

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[18] The average holding in such sections is between 4 and 5 acres, but if only cultivable land is considered, then the holding is about 4 acres.—Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Bhalla found that of the 78 cultivators in Bairampur, 44, or 56 per cent cultivated less than three acres; 10, or 13 per cent cultivated from 3 to 5 acres; 20, or 26 per cent between 5 and 8 acres, and only 4, or 5 per cent cultivated more than this amount.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

[19] It is difficult to determine the average holding for the whole province. Sir James Wilson estimated that the average area owned per owner was 15 acres, but the average area cultivated by tenants was 5 acres.—*Recent Economic Developments in the Punjab,* 1910. Darling, in a study of the Land Revenue Report and of the census returns, came to the conclusion that the average cultivated holding in the province, was not more than 8 acres.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 3, 11.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

> The more fertile the land the more it is split up, as fertility and population go together. Accordingly, the greater the population the greater the evil, and nowhere is it worse than in the more thickly populated parts of this area [the four submontane districts] and the central Punjab.[22]

The evils of such fragmentation are self-evident. The obvious solution is to bring about consolidation of holdings. However, despite the obvious advantages, the work proceeds slowly because villagers are averse to change, but despite the difficulties a real and valuable movement for consolidation has been started through the agency of the Co-operative Consolidation of Holdings Societies:

> By 1927, 314 societies with 15,387 members had been formed with the sole object of consolidating the holdings of their members, and in six years 88,710 scattered parcels of land, measuring 60,015 acres, were consolidated into 16,458, . . . In Jullundur, the cradle of the movement, rain water is conserved on the larger blocks by building embankments, which the tiny size of the fields formerly made impossible; and in the same district 47 new wells have been sunk, and 1,750 acres of waste land, previously too minutely parceled to be worth cultivating, have been brought under the plough.[23]

Several methods of disposing of the cultivator's grain crop have been in vogue. In former days when the farmer was heavily indebted to the money lenders, much of the produce was carried away by this person at a buying rate which was often unfavorable to the cultivator. But as the cultivator prospered or transferred his indebtedness to the Co-operative Credit Society, he refused to sell to the money lender and carried his produce to the open market and sold it. As he was a bad bargainer and was often ignorant of the conditions of the market, he was frequently a loser in the transaction. Another stage was marked when the cultivator visited certain markets and inquired for himself at what rate various commodities were selling. Then, when the grain dealer's agents came to the village to purchase, he was prepared for them and insisted upon receiving a price only a little below the market-town rate. Occasionally, even then, the cultivator lost through short weight, which he did not trouble to check. The most progressive cultivators are now selling co-operatively, often storing their crops until the condition of the market is such that they can secure a good price. The grain elevator at Lyallpur, completed in 1922, provides for the storing of pure grain until it is ready to be exported.

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[21] Bhalla found the village lands of Bairampur to be divided into 1,598 fields averaging about one-fifth of an acre each. Twenty-eight per cent of the holdings had from 31 to 35 fragments in each holding, and in three cases plots were so small—the smallest was .014 acre—that they had been lost sight of by their owners and had passed into the hands of others.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 33, 34.

[22] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

In Europe the breeding of beef cattle is an important resource for the small farmer, but in the Punjab only Moslems may utilize this resource, for religion forbids Hindus to take life. The latter, however, keep a considerable number of cattle for draught purposes and for milk. Indeed, cattle seem almost indispensable in India:

> Without them the fields remain unploughed, store and bin stand empty, and food and drink lose half their savor; for in a vegetarian country what can be worse than to have neither milk, butter, nor *ghi?* Indeed, it is difficult to have anything at all, as all cooking is done with cakes of manure. The very hookah, beloved of the rustic, can hardly be smoked without the cow-dung fire that is almost universally used for the purpose.
>
> It is not surprising then that India probably contains more cattle to the square mile than any other large country in the world.[24]

Many of the cattle, however, are of very poor quality and are kept alive only because of religious sentiment or the inhibitions of tradition. Both drought and disease cause a heavy mortality among them. Since 1914 the number of cattle in the province has decreased by nearly two million, the specific causes being disease, fodder famine, and certain economic causes leading to a decrease in the number of cattle kept for breeding purposes.[25] Such heavy losses of cattle, practically all uninsured, cripples the cultivator financially for years and is one of the important causes of debt. The Civil Veterinary Department of the Punjab has done a great deal to check the spread of contagious diseases and is investigating their cause and cure. Much has also been accomplished by supplying stud bulls of known pedigree from the Government Cattle Farm, Hissar. There are also breeding farms in the Lower Bari Doab Colony for the improvement of milking strains.

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[24] Darling, *op. cit.,* p. 30. In 1920 India had 101.5 bovine cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, and camels to the square mile, against only 31.2 in the United States.—*The Pioneer,* Allahabad, June 24, 1922. In the Punjab the latest cattle census (1919) indicates a still higher figure—160, if young stock are counted, while there are 7,000,000 sheep and goats, or about 73 to the square mile.

But even when a preventive or a remedy for disease is secured, it is often difficult to get the cultivator to use it; in time of trouble he prefers to revert to magic and to other superstitious practices. Bhalla found that when an epidemic broke out near Bairampur, and the veterinary surgeon came out to help, the villagers to a man flocked to a quack fakir whose charms were said to make the cattle invulnerable against disease, and they were all so fully agreed about it that the fakir was paid out of village funds.[26]

INDEBTEDNESS

The greatest curse of the Punjab cultivator is indebtedness. Most of them are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt.[27] Debt is not confined to any special area or to any particular tribal group. "It is lowest in the poor but hardy North."[28] In the prosperous districts of the central and submontane areas and in the arid South and West, where the harvests are very uncertain, the amount of debt is about the same, but the reasons for it are very different. In the prosperous sections, while the necessity for borrowing is not so great, the opportunity is greater, and the temptation to extravagance is often present. So far as the money is spent in raising the standard of living or in other productive ways, it is ultimately a gain, but unfortunately in some prosperous sections money is borrowed and spent on dissipations, extravagant social festivities, and litigation. This is not true, however, in the prosperous Canal Colonies, where settlers, aided by canal irrigation, have literally turned the desert into a garden.

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[25] "As recently as 1921, Sirsa (Hissar) lost 40 per cent of its stock, and in the same year cattle in Jhelum were sold for a few rupees a head."—Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

[27] See Appendix, II, for a detailed study of the total debt of the province and its distribution.

[28] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

Mr. Darling makes clear the different effects of prosperity in different regions by comparing what are probably the two most prosperous districts in the Province—Ferozepur and Lyallpur. In both districts poverty has been followed by wealth. In Lyallpur this wealth has been due to endurance and effort; in Ferozepur, it has been showered upon the inhabitants without much effort on their part. The results are what might be expected:

> Ferozepore recalls the spendthrift who dissipates a fortune that he has done little to acquire, Lyallpur, the self-made man who has acquired his wealth too laboriously to throw it recklessly away. In Ferozepore drink, dissipation, gambling, litigation, bribery and extravagance are all rampant, and nowhere is more spent upon marriage. Hence a vast increase in debt, which in the ten years ending 1926 was probably as much as five crores.[29]

In Lyallpur debt is small and a substantial portion of it is due to agricultural development. In Ferozepur there is little of such progress and education hardly exists, but in Lyallpur education is everywhere in demand, and in one or two areas, it has been made compulsory. "The difference is vital. Without education, prosperity demoralizes, but with it a new and better order of things may be started." These two districts are typical of the influence of prosperity in the Punjab. "In so far as it springs from effort and leads to education it is good; but in so far as it comes as a windfall to men who are too uneducated to apply it to their advantage, it is a disaster."[30]

Darling, in his thorough investigation into debt and its causes in the Punjab, comes to the conclusion that there are four basic factors which compel the cultivator to borrow: (1) The small size of the ordinary holding and its grotesque fragmentation. These conditions make it almost impossible for him to live without getting into debt, unless he is exceptionally frugal and industrious or has some subsidiary source of income; (2) the constantly recurring losses of cattle from disease or drought, without the protection of insurance; (3) the ingrained improvidence of the cultivator, the effects of which are greatly aggravated by the insecurity of agricultural conditions in a considerable part of the province; (4) extravagant expenditure upon marriages and other domestic ceremonies, largely due to custom and a desire for prestige.[31]

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[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57. A crore is 100 lakhs, or 10 million rupees.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

In addition he found two causes which facilitate borrowing: first, the great expansion of credit due to high prices and the inflated value of land, both factors being very marked in recent years; second, the money-lender and his vicious system of business.

The four principle causes stated above explain "why the peasant proprietor *must* borrow, and the last two, how he *can* borrow, and it is the combination of 'must' and 'can' that explains the great increase of debt in the last fifty years. Or, expressing it differently, the first four causes explain the existence of debt, the money-lender and his system, its continuance, and the expansion of credit its volume."[32]

The dangers of present conditions are apparent in the fact that in the last thirty years cultivation has increased by 25 per cent while prices have risen by over 100 per cent. The standard of living has risen; the population is growing. The serious factor is that debt has grown by 300 per cent, only part of which is due to productive expenditure. If this wasteful borrowing and expenditure continue, the danger is that the standard of living and the needs of a growing population will clash.[33]

THE MONEY-LENDER

The money-lender is an important factor in the problem of debt. He is one of the most energetic and enterprising residents of the village and is usually a shop-keeper and grain broker. He is the one who is feared in the village, the one about whom hard sayings are made, and yet the one upon whom most of the villagers are dependent. Though secretly despised, the money-lender, especially in the past, has filled a necessary place in the village economy. He has financed the village, marketed its produce, and supplied its necessities. Although he frequently has charged exorbitant rates of interest, robbed his customers of their independence and self-reliance, and practically made them economic slaves, still without him, especially in times of scarcity and famine, they would have been without food and without life's necessities. He has even trusted them when they had no security.

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 253.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-59. Mr. Darling states that the remedy for this is education—education both by the school and by the wider education of co-operation.

There are certain Hindu money-lending castes: the Banias, chiefly in the Southeast Punjab; the Khatris, in the central and particularly in the northwest portion; and the Aroras, in the Southwest. All of these groups are noted for their skill in trading, their capacity, shrewdness, subtlety, enterprise, greed, and hard business sense. There are, however, characteristic differences: the Bania is known chiefly for his craftiness, the Khatri for his enterprise, and the Arora for his tenacity and thoroughness.

With the coming of British rule, two things occurred which made the money-lender more powerful. One was the gradual weakening of the vigorous communal strength of the village, which had been strong enough to hold the money-lender in partial check; and the second was the setting up of courts of justice, which, in their rigid application of the law, often lost sight of the human elements of the situation and worked hardship upon the indebted cultivator. These conditions, along with a series of famines in the seventies, gave the money-lender special opportunities, and he soon firmly established his position of power and influence. Later, with added prosperity due to better communications and markets, many cultivators, desiring to gratify new wants, yielded to the temptation of easy credit offered by the money-lender, who gradually tightened his hold over them.

So profitable was this business with its high rates of compound interest that the number of bankers and money-lenders in the province (including their dependents), increased from 53,263 in 1868 to 193,890 in 1911. The latest census figures suggest a decline in numbers. This is marked in the central districts of the province, but in Rawalpindi, Ferozepur, and Karnal there has been an increase of over 10 per cent, and in Rohtak and Hissar of over 50 per cent.[34] It is still the case that at least one out of every four income tax payers is a village money-lender and that the percentage of money-lenders to the whole population is three times as great in the Punjab as it is in the rest of British India.[35]

The present money-lender is often subtle and skillful in trade; enterprising and ambitious for gain; hard in driving and following up a bargain; and not backward in taking advantage of the ignorance and improvidence of his customers. His object usually has been to get people into debt and to keep them in debt. The rates of interest in India have always been very high. They vary with the amount of money available and with the type of security which the borrower can offer. A common rate of interest is 18¾ per cent for cash and 25 per cent for grain payments. In the years 1920-23, due to a scarcity of money in rural areas, rates rose abruptly. In some districts they actually doubled, and in Hazara they more than doubled. These rates are for unsecured loans, those made against jewelry or land being much less.

Most people will recognize that the handicap of paying even 15 to 25 per cent compound interest on money is a severe one, but few realize how rapidly such interest accumulates.[36]

But grain loans mount up even more rapidly than cash loans. It seems a small thing to promise 1½ maunds[36a] of wheat in June for a maund given as seed in October, but when the interest is figured out, it is found to be practically 70 per cent. Moreover, the money-lender also makes his profit as a merchant on the wheat, and he often gives poor wheat and insists upon getting good wheat in return.

In the Ludhiana *Bet*, in March, 1918, villagers whose supply of food was exhausted, in return for a maund of Indian corn valued at Rs.

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[34] *The Punjab Census Report*, p. 361.

[35] *The Punjab Income Tax Report, 1922-23*, p. 6.

[36] Darling gives some examples which are illuminating. In 1896 a small plot of land in Hissar was mortgaged for Rs. 26 at 37½ per cent. By 1906 the debt without further loan, had swelled to Rs. 500. Another cultivator borrowed Rs. 350 and in the course of 20 years repaid Rs. 450, but still owes Rs. 1,000. In still another case Rs. 2,550 was borrowed over 10 years beginning with 1901 at 25 per cent. By 1918 it had become a debt of Rs. 9,400.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 216-17. At first sight this seems incredible, but as Professor Marshall points out, a debt of £1 at 60 per cent, if allowed to accumulate,

[36a] A maund is about 82 lbs.

4, were binding themselves to pay 1¾ maunds of wheat in June or, failing that, 3½ maunds of Indian corn in January. More recently in Muzaffargarh, under the stress of prolonged drought, there were cases of seed being advanced on condition that a quarter of the crop should be given in return![37]

Furthermore, the loose system of keeping accounts and the cultivator's inability to read or to understand figures, lend themselves to sharp practices and even to dishonest dealing.

But the worst result of this system of money-lending is its effect upon the characters of its victims. A borrower may struggle at first and try to pay off his debt, but conditions are generally too much for him. He finally becomes hopeless and settles back defeated. He is practically in economic bondage, and he knows it. Life is no longer a struggle to get ahead, but merely to hold body and soul together. Independence and self-reliance are gone; improvidence is increased; the hope for the future is darkened. The debtor's great desire is simply to secure enough to maintain his *izzat* (dignity) even though in the end, all that he owns may be lost. In this demoralization of character the money-lender has not escaped; his hardness, selfishness, and greed are the prices he has had to pay for his wealth.

THE LAND ALIENATION ACT

There have been at least two outstanding efforts on the part of the government to keep the money-lender in check and to help the cultivator. The first of these was the passing in 1901 of the Land Alienation Act. This prevents the money lender from taking land in mortgage from the *zamindar* for a period of more than twenty years; it makes it difficult for non-agriculturists to purchase land; it makes it impossible for the cultivator to be evicted, to be arrested for debt, or to have his movable property attached. If he is brought into court, interest charges can be examined and, if necessary, reduced; and when he dies, his ancestral property can be neither attached nor sold. The Act has been a boon to the small peasant proprietor, but it has also kept urban people from putting money into land and helping

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will become £100 in eight years.—Marshall, *Industry and Trade,* p. 711, quoted in *ibid.,* p. 217.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 218.

in its development. Capital is greatly needed for agricultural progress, and the most hopeful source for this is the city. The Act has also been criticized because it has tended to make the *zamindar* dependent, rather than to help him to stand upon his own feet. It has undoubtedly kept the town and country apart, when the great need is to bring them together.

The Land Alienation Act, depriving, as it did, the professional money lender of the security of land for his loans, put him in a position where he was able to lend only up to the limit of what could be repaid from the produce. This situation brought into prominence the agriculturist money-lender, who, through large holdings, high prices, or money secured through soldiering and emigration, had funds which he desired to invest. This type of money-lender has increased rapidly in recent years, and in some places he has displaced the professional one. His methods, on the whole, are no more merciful than those which have existed, and the testimony from some quarters is that while he is less cunning in his devices, he is usually harsher in his means. He is certainly more formidable, for he has it in his power to press a creditor till he is compelled to sell or turn over his land to him. His growing influence, which is largely the result of the Land Alienation Act, "can only be regarded with apprehension and incidentally illustrates how difficult it is to cure economic evils by legislation."[38]

THE CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT MOVEMENT

The greatest challenge of the money-lender's power and position, however, is the co-operative credit movement which was started in 1904. It offered money for worthy purposes at 12½ per cent interest, instead of anything up to 75 per cent demanded by the money-lender. It offered a way of escape from the money-lender's clutches and a chance of economic stability and progress. Yet because of the cultivator's ignorance, isolation, and suspicion, comparatively little use was made of the organization until the Great War. Service in the War gave the cultivator a new vision, and since then the growth of the co-operative credit movement has been remarkable. From 706 societies with

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[38] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

39,000 members in 1910, the organization has grown until early in 1924 there were 9,978 co-operative societies with a membership of a quarter of a million. In 1922 these societies had a working capital of nearly 250 lakhs of rupees. Central co-operative banks, as secondary financial institutions, have also been started, there being in 1922, 37 Central banks and 69 credit Unions with a working capital of Rs. 164 lakhs. These central financing bodies have advanced loans during the last ten years of over two crores. Practically all this has been lent to primary societies, which, in turn, have advanced nearly 4½ crores to their members. The gain in cash benefits in a single year may be reasonably estimated at 20 lakhs of rupees, while of the interest paid by the borrowers, over nine lakhs is annually added to their reserve.[39]

In the Punjab the pure Raiffeisen type of co-operative society has been departed from to the extent that a considerable portion of the funds needed by members is contributed by them in the form of small shares. These are paid up by installments, in the course of ten years. During this period all profits are indivisible. At the end of ten years, the shares may be returned and the profits voted indivisible forever; or the shares may be retained and three-fourths of the profits distributed as permanent capital, in proportion to the shares held.

The result of this share system and indivisible profits, is that after ten years most societies are nearly self supporting in the matter of funds. In 1922 the members owned Rs. 52 lakhs as share capital and Rs. 11 lakhs more as indivisible profits in their societies, so that it is only a matter of time before all villagers possess a common fund, from which all the legitimate needs of their members may be met.[40]

This excellent progress has been the result of hard work and the surmounting of many difficulties, such as suspicion, apathy, fear that money once given would be forever lost, waning enthusiasm as it became necessary for people to pay over their money, ignorance of financial matters, heavy arrears of interest, and unreliable local committees.

The general benefits of co-operation are strikingly apparent. Old debts are being paid off and lands are being redeemed from mortgage.[41] Co-operative societies have helped to control credit and to educate people toward putting their money to truly productive uses. The money-lender, if the borrower's credit was good, seldom asked the purpose of a loan; but the credit society will generally lend money only for a necessary or productive use. It strives to provide the cultivator with a sound, well controlled system of credit, which will reduce and gradually exterminate waste. Even if it is deemed advisable to give a man a loan for a wedding or a funeral, etc., the amount is generally kept very low. The educational advantages in this with regard to controlled expenditure and thrift are most beneficial.

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[39] *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 275-76.

[40] *Loc. cit.*,

Thrift is one of the great needs of the Punjab villages, and in promoting thrift the co-operative societies have done one of their most valuable pieces of work. This is a very constructive side of the movement, the villager being guided and helped in building up his own capital. This is being accomplished by attracting deposits and inducing members to contribute toward buying shares of stock, which cannot be withdrawn till the society has completed ten years of service. In 1922 there were 52 lakhs of rupees of share capital, 32 lakhs of deposits, and a reserve of 57 lakhs of rupees. Seventy-two thrift societies with the special object of encouraging saving have also been organized. To anyone knowing the general improvidence of the villager, these results are most remarkable.

Probably the most striking material improvement due to co-operation is the consolidation of agricultural holdings. As has already been shown, the small scattered holdings all over the village area have been one of the potent causes of poverty. It was not considered wise to attempt consolidation by legislation, but rather to educate the land owner and persuade him that such consolidation was to his advantage. In the years since 1920 much has been accomplished, and there is doubtless a great future for this type of endeavor. In one village an owner who had his land scattered in two hundred different fields now has it in one, and five more owners have single plots where before each had over a hundred.

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[41] "Figures are available for 1,559 village banks with 55,000 members, which have completed 10 years. In this time 89 lakhs (8,900,000 rupees) of debt have been repaid; 20,000 acres have been redeemed; 15,500 acres taken in mortgage for 34 lakhs and 13,700 acres purchased for 32 lakhs of rupees. Forty-one lakhs have been accumulated in shares and undistributed profits and 33 per cent of the members (18,000) are entirely free from debt."—*Punjab Co-operative Societies' Report, 1923*, p. 27.

Other forms of commendable co-operative effort are the societies whose members are pledged to settle their disputes by local arbitration instead of going to court; the compulsory school societies whose members bind themselves under penalty of Rs. 50 to send their children to school for the full primary course; societies for the breeding of cattle and sheep; for the insurance of cattle; for the purchase of implements and seeds; for the storage and sale of produce through eliminating the middleman; for the reclamation of waste lands by better irrigation; for improving the craft of the weaver and dyer and securing better markets for their goods.

Most hopeful of all are the signs of progress and of new hope and ambition. Self-help is being emphasized and along with it mutual help for the welfare of the community. Cultivators are learning to manage their own affairs and to show more industry, self reliance, and integrity. Some co-operators are raising their standard of living, promoting adult education in evening schools, improving their methods of work, and showing themselves ready to listen to proposals for the improvement of village conditions.

There is undoubtedly a great future for co-operation in the Punjab, for there are few rural needs to which it cannot contribute.

Since the very essence of co-operation is self-help, all good co-operators earnestly desire to see education of the right type brought to every village—an education that will make the villager self-reliant, provident, honest, and public-spirited.

LITIGATION AND OTHER FORMS OF WASTE

People in certain parts of the Punjab are inordinately fond of litigation, and a little extra money offers a strong temptation to spend funds in connection with lawsuits which ultimately cause much loss and often bring about debt. Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jullundur, and the West Punjab (all down the Indus) are sections where litigation and debt are closely connected.[42]

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[42] "In the three years, 1919-21, the number of suits filed in the Punjab averaged over 188,000 and the number of persons brought to trial 268,000. Of the latter, 185,000 were acquitted or discharged, which shows that crime

Moreover, there is a great social and moral loss from such litigation. Hard feelings and even feuds develop; rival parties are formed; witnesses are hired; money is spent to secure influential support; petty officials have to be propitiated; false testimony is often given, and efforts are made to pervert justice. In fact, the whole atmosphere is demoralized.

Marriage and other social ceremonies are regarded by leading authorities as one of the great sources of debt. Marriage especially involves heavy expenditure. Besides the cost of a bride, jewelry and clothes must be bought, and in the central Punjab from one-half to two-thirds of the expense of a wedding is due to the purchase of jewelry. This jewelry must usually be of gold, for if one is not lavish in a wedding, it is taken to indicate poverty and debt, and with such a reputation it is difficult to secure brides for other sons. There is also the cost of feasting, which varies from a single meal for the guests to two or even more days of entertainment. Then there are gifts of money to be made to the various village and personal servants, to laborers, to the witnesses, and to the one performing the ceremony. Singers and professional dancers are also engaged, and sometimes instrumental music as well. The friends of the family pay in some money (*neunda dalna*) as a token of friendship. The usual amount is one rupee each. People will often strive to be more ostentatious than their neighbors on an occasion like this in order to gain prestige and will not hesitate to go into debt to achieve their ends.[43]

Besides marriage there are many other social ceremonies, such as betrothals, the birth of sons, circumcision, the bestowal of

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and the criminal complaint have little in common, and that to a great extent the criminal courts are but another branch of the civil."—Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 77. For all types of court cases it is estimated that 2½ million persons (40 per cent of the adult male population) attend the courts every year, either as parties or witnesses. Counting the loss of time and expenditures of all kinds, between 3 to 4 crores (Rs. 30 to 40 million) are wasted annually in this way. "The capitalized value of this expenditure would suffice to redeem the whole mortgage debt of the province. This sum devoted to rural education would effect a revolution; devoted to medical relief, it would bring skilled aid within the reach of every village."—Calvert, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[43] Lucas figures that the most ordinary marriage would cost Rs. 240 (£16) above what had been paid for the bride. This is only allowing Rs. 100 for jewelry and clothes and Rs. 80 for feasting, whereas many times this amount is often spent.—*The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, p. 51.

the sacred thread, and the funerals of elderly persons, all of which involve the giving of presents and feasting. Betrothals cost from fifty rupees up; funerals cost more than the other ceremonies—not less than twenty-five or thirty rupees (£2). This indicates something of the great financial burden due to social ceremonial. If a man attempts to marry three or four children well, he probably will find it necessary to bind himself with debt for life.

The waste resulting from present methods of agriculture has already been indicated. The causes of such waste may be summarized as follows: poor use of time, misuse of credit, lack of organization and foresight, poor judgment in the choice of crops, antiquated methods of buying and selling, the waste of by-products such as cotton seed, the loss of cattle through disease and poor selection, the waste of vegetable refuse, grasses, etc., which would make good silage or manure, and the neglect of valuable fibrous plants growing wild about the village.

Other important forms of waste are caused by various social and religious attitudes, which are discussed more fully in other connections.[44]

Village Industries and Mahatma Gandhi's Campaign

In former times the splendid work of the village artisans and weavers was known far and wide, and their products were widely sought after. The competition of manufactured goods and the unfavorable tariff policy, however, almost destroyed these industries, and many of the skilled artisans have now taken to agriculture.

It is clear that where holdings are small, not only must cultivation be carried on intensively but agriculture must be supplemented by subsidiary industries. These are the methods which have been used successfully in other countries to supplement a limited agriculture, but village industries in India thus far have been carried on by separate castes, and the agriculturist thinks it beneath his dignity to engage in them in his spare time. Even for ordinary repairs which require little skill, he will call an artisan rather than attempt the work himself. The cultivator in times of scarcity or crop failure, will go into the city to work in a factory, returning in time to sow his next crop; or he will join the army. But as yet he has not seriously given his attention to cottage industries, which can be carried on in his home, without any harm to his agricultural work. There are many waste or local materials which can easily be utilized in the making of marketable articles. These, while involving little in the way of skill or of implements or of first costs, would add to the cultivator's scanty income. Such possible industries are the making of rope, baskets, reed furniture, bricks, cloth, rugs and blankets, shoes, clay or brass vessels, ordinary wood and iron work, matting, porch screens, and similar things. There are also the rearing of silk worms; the raising of bees; the keeping of poultry, goats and dairy cattle.

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[44] See pp. 236, 248, 253, 257, 264.

Mahatma Gandhi's campaign for the weaving of khaddar cloth and for the fuller utilization of the spinning wheel has in some quarters, especially foreign, been greatly misunderstood. In the present economy of the village, when poverty, labor, and natural conditions are such that electrical power and machinery are not feasible and when the cultivator often has much spare time away from his fields, some hand or cottage industry seems essential to supplement his income. Spinning and weaving are possibilities, which might be introduced. Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis upon the vital place, dignity, and importance of manual work (even urging that it be a qualification for the franchise) should have far-reaching importance.

The marketing of cottage industrial products of artistic merit is facilitated by the Arts and Crafts Depot in Lahore, where articles are collected and offered for sale. In addition to the above stimulus for profitable marketing and the efforts Mr. Gandhi is making, there is another movement which may in time favorably affect the extension of cottage industries. This has to do with the occupational castes' adopting agriculture as an industry subsidiary to their own. Many carpenters, weavers, and shoemakers have small plots of ground which they work in addition to their regular vocations, thus utilizing more fully their spare time. This matter of the importance and dignity of any kind of useful labor is a lesson which must be learned by all classes of people.

VILLAGE ARTISANS AND SERVANTS

Another way of earning a livelihood is that of the village servants, such as the sweeper, the water-carrier, and the washerman, who work for various families and also receive their wages in produce at the harvest time. They are given special gifts at times of betrothals, marriages, or other important ceremonies. Other villagers who receive special gifts and also grain at the harvest time for services to the family are the singer, the jester, the drum-beater, the family priest, and the barber. The last is the chief go-between in the performance of domestic ceremonies. He informs the relatives and friends of births and special ceremonies and calls them together; he visits the bride's house and helps to make wedding arrangements; he looks after the *huqqas* and sees that the food is prepared. At funerals he accompanies the bier to the cemetery; he shaves peoples' heads in ceremonial functions; he takes the place of a doctor when no hakim or physician is available. His wife often assists him and sings at the festivities. "The *guchi* [barber's bag], containing razors, scissors, etc., carries a charm as great as the compass among freemasons."[45]

Another curious village servant is the beggar who sometimes looks after and repairs the village guest-house and keeps a fire of dung cakes burning for the *huqqa*, so that guests may smoke. He too receives grain at the harvest time and gifts on occasions of domestic ceremonials.

Still other village servants are the carpenter, the smith, the weaver, the potter, the leather-worker, the tailor, the teacher, the priest, and the singer. All these receive grain and sometimes money. They serve the community as they are needed. The carpenter and the smith make farm implements, carts, etc., and repair them. They also set up the sugar press, sharpen sickles and other tools, and make the necessary materials for harvesting. The carpenter sometimes assists in building houses and in repairing or making furniture. The degree of skill required is not very great because most of the work is rough, no fine finishing and fitting being required.

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[45] Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

There are not many opportunities for industrial work in a village, for few things are made at present for a wider market than the village itself. Weavers, shoemakers, and tailors, however, often work for a near-by town or large village.

The village weavers at present make khaddar (homespun), other kinds of cheap cloth required by the villagers, and turbans. The leather-worker cures hides, makes water-bags, country shoes, and the various other leather pieces and articles used by the villager. The potter makes the clay vessels and pots required in the home and shop. The work of the other occupations is self-evident.

The shopkeepers sell various food-stuffs, milk and curds, sweets, tobacco, and personal and household necessities. More manufactured and imported articles are rapidly appearing in his stock. Lanterns, kerosene oil, matches, cigarettes, machine-made cloth, glass bangles, etc., are now to be found. Certain types of clothing, bedding, farm implements, well materials, and larger articles for the house, must usually be bought in neighboring towns. It is also oftentimes necessary to go to a large village or to a town in order to secure adequate medical aid. The shopkeeper often acts as a grain broker or as the village money-lender and as such has rapidly increased his wealth.

The descriptions given of the many village servants and artisans who are to be given grain at the harvest time, indicate something of the heavy demands made upon the cultivator and the way he is "bled" by many who claim to have served him in one way or another. The following is a description of what actually took place in a village in Dera Ghazi Khan:

> . . . after he [the village chieftain] and the village menials had taken their share, the following had to be satisfied: the money lender who wanted his dues for the year; the local shopkeeper, for the goods supplied "on tick"; another trader, for the hire of the well-gear, . . . the village *mullah* for his many calls to prayer; the local fakir, for the glory of God; the landlord's agent, for the glory of man; the two village accountants . . . for the glory of the *Sirkar* [government]; the *lambardar's* [headman's] assistant, for doing the lambardar's work; and finally, the canal *bhisty* [water carrier] for watering trees. Something, too, had to be sent to the father of the girl betrothed to the zemindar's boy. When almost nothing remained, the zemindar was

Plate XV—The Village Medicine Man

Plate XVI—A Modern Ascetic

Plate XVII—Returning from the Village Well

asked what was the good of it all. "God has preserved my honor" (*Sain pat rakhi*), was the expressive reply. . . .[46]

The Landless Laborer

The landless laborer, who is the crux of every landlord system, often leads a very precarious existence. He is largely dependent upon the doles and generosity of those for whom he works, so that his condition of life partly depends upon the part of the province in which he works. In prosperous sections his food and housing conditions are fair, but in backward sections he leads an almost animal-like existence, living in miserable hovels, eating almost any kind of food he can get, and often going without. An official of Dera Ghazi Khan tells of meeting an agricultural laborer carrying home a small quantity of stolen, unripe peas for the evening meal of three adults and a child. He was attempting to support these people on a monthly wage of Rs. 4 and a "two-leg share of a bullock."[47] In the Western Punjab the usual wage is only 4 or 5 rupees a month, with a blanket and a pair of shoes thrown in at the end of the year; or the laborer receives his food and then gets a rupee a month for everything else.

In more prosperous sections, casual laborers receive from 5 to 8 annas a day ($\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee), and they sometimes receive the early morning meal. When they cannot secure field work they cut grass and sell it, make rope, or engage in some home industry, or emigrate to the city for temporary work in factories. At harvest time they usually prefer to receive their wages in grain, as they find this more profitable.

The permanent field laborers are paid in produce and not with cash. They also receive presents of grain and sometimes money on the occasion of important domestic ceremonies. At this time they are expected to do extra work. They are also given special allowances of grain at the harvest time. The dead cattle, both the meat and the hide, belong to them. When harvests are good, their family budgets indicate that with supplementary industries they make both ends meet, but in periods of scarcity they have a hard time. They are considered to be ceremonially unclean, are compelled to live in a separate part of the village, and socially and religiously are outcastes. (See pages 234, 238.)

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[46] Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 123-24.

A striking movement in India at present is the way these laboring and depressed classes are banding together to demand more just, considerate social and economic treatment. They are airing their wrongs and grievances, such as being debarred from the use of wells; forced labor; low wages; unfair conditions of tenure; exclusion from temples and schools; lack of political representation both locally and provincially. They, along with other classes, are attaining to self and group consciousness; they are feeling after unity and are clamoring for the redress of their grievances.

Communication and Transportation

The description of the village up to this point has conveyed the impression that it is isolated and remote, cut off from the main currents of national life. In the past this was largely true. The village communities were self-contained and self-sufficient, even using a system of barter instead of money. They were able to supply their own simple needs, and they wished to be let alone. The visit of an official to collect the revenue or a wandering mendicant or a marauding band was the measure of their contact with the outside world. But the developments of recent years are changing these conditions, and villagers are now being brought into touch not only with their own country but with the entire world. Many factors have contributed to this, among the most important of which are undoubtedly improvements in transportation and communication.

Previous to the annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1848, there were several trade routes from Central Asia across the Punjab, and the Moghals and their predecessors had marked out dirt roads bordered by trees. There were also *serais* (inns) for travelers, about twelve to fifteen miles apart. Later these were allowed to fall into disrepair, so that when the British entered the Punjab, road communications were poor. The early years of their occupation were marked by considerable activity in surveying and laying out roads and metaling some of them. The location of these roads was determined chiefly by military needs. By 1872 there were a thousand miles of metaled roads, 2,750 miles of canals, and over four hundred miles of railway.[48]

The first railway was opened in 1861 and connected Amritsar and Lahore. This railway necessitated the construction of feeder roads, but these were not connected up into any system. In fact, the growth of railways led some to think that roads were unnecessary and road construction was neglected considerably for a number of years. The coming of motor transportation, however, changed all this, and it was recognized that both main trunk-roads and good feeder roads were necessary. A Provincial Board of Communication was appointed with responsibility for studying and planning the development of all types of communications.

By 1920 there were 4,441 miles of railway in the Punjab, 2,938 miles of metaled roads, and 19,664 miles of canal. Seven rivers had been bridged, some of them more than once. Through communication with Calcutta and Bombay had been established in 1883.

The railways for the most part enter and leave the Province at the four corners, there being no through line from west to east. There are about 650 railway stations or approximately one to every fifty villages and towns. The railway facilities are good except in the West and in the rapidly developing Canal Colonies, which have outgrown their railway service. The road situation is not so favorable; at present there are less than five miles of metaled road to every railway station, or about one mile to ten villages.[49] Efforts are being made to discover a cheap, durable surface for unmetaled roads, which will make them usable for all types of traffic. The extensive canal system, especially the main lines, supplements the roads not only because of supplying water transportation but also because of the inspection roads along the banks.

These various improved systems of transportation have had great influence upon the villages. By making markets for a surplus available, they have encouraged production and made specialization possible; they should, in time, lead to an intensive cultivation of certain vegetables, fruits, and other products.

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[48] Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[49] Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

They have supplied a choice of markets, so that the cultivator is able to sell to the best advantage. They have increased the value of land. They have stimulated travel, interaction, and association among villages, towns, and cities. They have furthered trade and progress, and have been sepecially beneficial to the more remote villages.[50]

The impressive result has been an increase of wealth, a rising standard of living, and a broader outlook. Unfortunately, associated with these benefits, there has been an increase of debt, because the increasing value of land provided a substantial basis of security, and the cultivator was not sufficiently versed in financial matters to resist the temptation to borrow upon it. The force of this temptation may be seen in the fact that while in 1866 land was worth about Rs. 10 per acre, in recent years it has sold at an average of Rs. 198 per acre.

While many villagers have come into contact with motor transportation, it has not yet made its way, to any great extent, into rural regions. The usual type of village conveyance is still the ox-cart. For riding, the camel or the horse, the latter not often a very vigorous type, is used.

The village messenger, the village post office, the telegraph, and the postal money order system have all aided to bring the villager into touch with the outside world. It is true that only the large villages have post offices; others have a part-time employee, sometimes the teacher, and still others have mail service only at stated intervals. There is also at least one person in or near the village capable of writing letters for illiterate people at a small fee.

The social benefits of improved transportation and communication are many and important. In the process of marketing his grain, the cultivator naturally visits various grain markets and comes to know something of national economic conditions. The good roads and railways also offer easy facilities for travel, and many villagers now use them frequently to journey to the court, to district offices, to some religious shrine or *mela*, or simply to visit friends or to make purchases. The cumulative effects of these contacts will undoubtedly react favorably upon village life.

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[50] In the past fifty years cultivation has increased by 50 per cent, and the value of produce from 35 crores to over 120 crores (£80 million). As for trade, in 1872 the Punjab received only 4 lakhs (about £30,000) for its surplus grain; in 1918 the amount was over 24 crores (£16 million).—Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

For all kinds of rail-borne trade the exports in 1882 were 10,300,000 maunds, whereas in 1920 they were 41,300,000 maunds. Values are even more striking. In 1882 exports were valued at 3¾ crores (about £2½ million), while in 1920 they were 44 crores (£29⅓ million). Imports showed a similar increase from 6,300,000 maunds valued at 7.1 crores (about £4⅔ million) in 1882 to 65,500,000 maunds valued at 52.9 crores (about £35¼ million) in 1920.—Calvert, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

INCREASED INTEREST IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Some years ago the villager knew little about political problems. He was indifferent to political and to government policies. He knew he had to pay his land revenue, and the local tax and to bide by the customs and regulations of the community. Now, due to the reforms, the land owner has a civic place and a greater political responsibility, and his interest in provincial and even national politics is increasing. Newspapers are eagerly read by those that can do so, and the illiterate often gather around to hear the important news. The increase in interest in printed matter is a hopeful sign for the future.

Perhaps the most important factor in this increased interest in politics, was Mahatma Gandhi's campaign. He was the first to do what others have since done with far-reaching effects—carry his campaign into the villages. He laid special stress upon boycotting foreign cloth, abolishing liquor, doing away with untouchability, and striving for Hindu-Moslem unity. He also emphasized the wearing of khaddar (homespun) cloth and the spending by each person of some time every day in spinning and weaving. He advocated non-co-operation and non-violence, and he taught that spiritual and moral force was superior to physical force. This campaign stirred the villager's political consciousness in a way that has probably never occurred before. Mahatma Gandhi was greatly respected and loved and was looked upon by many as a saint. The Gurdwara Movement recruited considerable of its following from the villages, and it seems almost certain that village people will more and more become involved in political, commercial, and social affairs beyond their own boundaries. These will include events connected not only with the district but also with affairs of the nation and even with matters of interest in other parts of the world.

OTHER BROADENING FACTORS

Several other movements have contributed to this wider village outlook. One has been the emigration of villagers to various colonies for a term of years. In some cases these Indians have not been well treated; they have been discriminated against, and the resulting publicity and agitation have reached the villages and stirred sections of rural life. Another movement has been the more local migrations to new lands such as the Canal Colonies, where there are larger opportunities for prosperity. The farm worker's seasonal migration to city factories in the slack season has also had a broadening effect. When the crops have failed or when young men could be spared, certain of them have joined the army and have seen service both in India and abroad. Members of some of the Punjab tribes make excellent soldiers, and many have most creditable records. All these movements out into the wider world have had their reflex influence upon the village in modifying its conceptions of life.

The greatest influence of all, however, has been the Great War and the service in it of large numbers of Punjabis.

When the war started, there were about 100,000 Punjabis (including men from the Native States) serving in the Indian Army, of whom 87,000 were combatants. The Punjab's response during the course of the War was to contribute another 380,000, of whom 231,000 were combatants, making a total of 480,000 who served in some capacity, two-thirds of these being in the fighting forces. This was a magnificent contribution, and most of these soldiers came from the villages. The total represents over one-third of the entire contribution of India towards the fighting forces of the Empire. Of the male population of the Punjab, one man in twenty-eight was mobilized; in the rest of India one man in 150.[51] This force gave a good account of itself both on the Indian frontier and on the fighting fronts abroad, one indication of which is the large number of awards and citations received for bravery. These men also received a new vision of rural life while abroad and realized that it might be made healthier and more satisfying than it has been in India:

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[51] *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 28.

> Since the war a new spirit is abroad and there are unmistakable signs that the peasant is awaking from his sleep. . . . Bewildered but conscious, he is beginning to take stock of his surroundings and finds them less satisfying than before. In France he saw an entirely new order of rural life, and realized with surprise that the village can be as civilized as the town. The sight of the French peasant, educated, prosperous and independent, roused in him a discontent with his own surroundings that will not be easily allayed. Though still a fatalist, he no longer believes that change is impossible but he has little idea of how to effect it. . . . The village is, in fact, stirring with a new spirit, which manifests itself in many different ways . . . but all inspired by an underlying desire for better conditions of life. . . . Everywhere the age-long isolation of the Indian village is breaking down, and, as intercourse with the outer world is established, a new self-consciousness is dawning. Never has the province been more prosperous or its people more alive.[52]

Evaluation of Village Economic Life With Reference to Education

With regard to agriculture, which is the basic economic factor in the Punjab, the favorable conditions are: a good soil in most sections of the province; the possibility of extended irrigation systems; the availability of improved implements, good seed, and tested methods; professional guidance in combating plant and animal disease; growth of co-operative organizations to aid in credit and marketing; the consolidation of small holdings; the campaign for developing subsidiary industries; the widening outlook of rural people; the organization of laborers to secure better conditions for themselves; and the example of agricultural prosperity furnished by the Canal Colonies.

The elements unfavorable to economic development are the following: danger of drought and of animal and plant disease in some parts of the province without the protection of insurance; the force of custom and tradition which prevents the use of improved implements and methods; the small size of holdings and their excessive fragmentation; the lack of diversification and intensive farming; the lack of budgeting and accounting; the lack of capital and cheap credit; the ease with which people enter into and remain in debt; extravagant and unproductive expenditure due chiefly to social custom; poor methods of marketing and the excessive use of middlemen; the hindering attitudes of fatalism and contentment with things as they are, which lead to working merely for a subsistence; the control by caste and religion regarding occupations and the use of cattle; and the prevailing litigation, gambling, dissipation, and antagonisms between communities and castes, especially in some parts of the province.

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[52] Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300, xiv.

Concerning the industrial and commercial activities subsidiary to agriculture, they share in the benefits and disabilities of the agricultural situation, but the encouragement now given to skilled craftsmen in carving, inlaid work, fine weaving, etc., and the central marketing of their products, may mean a larger development of these arts and crafts in the near future.

Pupils in rural schools need to understand these economic problems in order to appreciate, on the one hand, the handicaps under which the cultivator works, and, on the other hand, the need for making use of all available help and guidance both from local organizations and from national and foreign sources. This will involve free discussion, criticism, and experimentation until the best results are secured.

The school will be greatly aided in its work by the increased transportation and communication facilities, and as much use as possible should be made of the travel experience of others, as well as of the villagers' own trips to shrines and *melas*. Use should also be made of the various contacts with the outside world, such as the post office, the telegraph, newspapers, magazines, books, pictures, and the activities of the co-operative society and of civic and social reformers.

There should also be a distinct effort to bring about better, closer relationships between urban and rural groups. The general relationship between these two groups is not all that could be desired. The former expect the cultivators to supply them with foodstuffs at low prices, while the latter naturally desire the best price they can secure. Capital, educational equipment, social and political prestige are largely found in urban sections, and these tend to bring about a social gulf between the two sections. The larger political opportunities now enjoyed by some villagers will have some influence in altering this. The town and country need each other; the former can supply capital, guidance in finance, organization, markets, etc., which the latter needs, and the city certainly cannot progress without the raw products of agriculture. One great aim of the school must therefore be the bringing about of harmony and co-operation between these two groups.

Here, as in previous chapters, it is clear that the handicaps to progress are due partly to mental attitudes. The rural school must face, and contribute to the solution of, this problem. Its curriculum must furnish not only the information and skills necessary to the improvement of village life, but also the means whereby pupils may be inspired by ideals of progress and service.

PART IV

MODERN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL IDEALS WITH REFERENCE TO CURRICULUM-MAKING

CHAPTER XV

MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND IDEALS

The World a Neighborhood

It has already been made clear in this study that education must not limit itself to the teaching of mere facts and skills, but that the aim should be the development of socialized personalities who are able to make real contributions to the welfare and progress of their own communities and of wider groups. For education this means that it is not sufficient to provide merely for existing conditions in the villages or even for present tendencies in India, but that pupils should study world opinions and ideals and the direction in which world affairs are moving.

This is necessary for two reasons: First of all the world has become a neighborhood; the old barriers of time and space have broken down. The old isolations are rapidly disappearing. What is spoken or done in one part of the world is known in a few hours in a very distant part. No region can live long unto itself. Indian villages, hitherto remote and self-contained, are now finding themselves in the stream of the world's life and thought. Hence the ideals, the opinions, the activities of one part of the world are vital to every other part, and educators are increasingly concerned that the attitudes developed in schools throughout the world shall be such as will make for peace, good-will, and co-operation.

Secondly, new international problems are constantly arising and new causes of friction developing. Thoughtful people see that if civilization is to survive at all, the peoples of this world must learn to live together in close contact; they must appreciate the contributions to human welfare which every race has made and is making; they must understand the customs, ideals, and cultures of others and seek common interests and purposes. The demands upon the coming generations in these particulars will be greater than those upon the present generation, and it is the duty of education to enable the boys and girls of today to meet them.

The present chapter will accordingly deal, in very brief fashion, with some of the outstanding social ideals and trends; with world problems and their significance to education.

THE DEMAND FOR SELF-EXPRESSION

One of the most evident of these social trends is the increasing self-realization of peoples and their demand for self-expression. The whole history of man's struggle for political liberty, religious freedom, social equality, and economic justice is an inspiring record. It indicates that the spirit of man is essentially dynamic and progressive.

But, although the pagan practices of murdering prisoners, of human sacrifice, of cannibalism, of slavery, and of the exposure of infants have either disappeared or are gradually becoming horrors of the past, yet in parts of the world, life is still regarded cheaply. The high death rates and the appalling amount of sickness and suffering are too lightly thought of by people who are not directly concerned.

The same is true of the struggle of many of the world's workers for bare existence. In some parts of the earth nine-tenths of a man's earnings go for food, which even then leaves him and his family hungry; while the small balance must provide all the other necessities of life—clothing, shelter, tools, utensils, bedding, etc. Other sections of the world increase their comforts and luxuries with little thought for those living on the hunger line. Yet the lesson must be learned that we are now more a part one of another than ever before. Undermined vitality, epidemics, sickness, low values of life and of personality no longer affect only the part of the world in which they are most evident, but they reach out to pull down life in other sections of the globe. That no one is really safe until all are safe is a lesson which is being taught not merely by idealists but by practical, everyday events.

If one looks back over the road traveled, he sees children receiving increased recognition; women more nearly approaching sex equality; the laborers of the world regarded as having rights; somewhat more democratic forms of social organization; the weakening of authoritarianism; the larger opportunity for creative thought and endeavor; the passing of absolutism and the birth of democracy; the increasing of religious freedom. But all these merely furnish incentives to press on to the greater things which are yet to be. The outward aspects of the struggle have changed somewhat but the basic principle of the supreme worth of each personality and of its right to grow and develop in ways valuable to self and society still remains.

The specific problem of the present is how to maintain and develop personality in a highly complex society, where the emphasis is upon large organizations, production, and standardization of product. In the larger aggregations of people in cities, in combinations and trusts in business, in great social and economic groupings with their tendency to greater complexity, the individual tends to become submerged, to seem of less value, to have fewer close social relationships, to become more self-centered, to develop a feeling that he is but a cog in the machine and that he does not count for much. There is often a lessening of civic and social responsibility and service. Mass production tends to destroy initiative, self-reliance, self-expression. Original thought, creativeness, and even self-direction are at a discount. Such repression of personality, during the many hours of the working day, often leads, after working hours are over, either to mere excitement and dissipation or to a crushed, plodding type of existence. The remedy for the unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of so many workers is not to be found merely in higher wages or in better living conditions but in larger opportunities for self-expression.

In the Orient the factory type of production is rapidly increasing, often with almost complete disregard for personality, and the schools and society must be prepared to meet this condition. There are also indications that the oppressed classes are organizing to demand their rights in political, economic, and social life.

This would in itself be encouraging, had not history and experience shown that even those movements which have been based upon sound social and individual rights have not been content with merely securing those rights. Rather, such movements, when successful, have sought to dominate and control others, and a new injustice has taken the place of the old. Society must see to it, therefore, that the rights of individuals and groups are balanced with those of other individuals and groups, so that all may have social justice.

With an increased sense of inter-dependence, has come increased emphasis upon good-will, tolerance, co-operation, and mutual service; upon the removal of those social sins which destroy the ethical character of a nation or a society; upon the prevention of those contemptuous and superior attitudes which undermine social and international relationship.

There is more and more questioning of social institutions, more testing of long-entrenched social sanctions and of authoritarianism in any form, together with the demand that all social institutions fulfill adequately their proper functions in society. Individuals are striving for more freedom of thought and speech and for more leisure time.

In all this questioning of the past and demanding of rights for the future, there is real danger that contentment may be found in merely material advantages, instead of in higher social and spiritual values. There is also danger that rights and privileges may be emphasized without the full realization that these involve increased responsibility. Such responsibility to society is needed in order to prevent antagonisms between groups:

> Every group, class and nation that seeks to liberate itself talks only of its own rights, as if there were only individuals and no society. This one-sidedness expressed in the principle of self-determination, is responsible for much of our present misery. . . . Self-determination alone is not enough; we must respect the same right in others.[1]

The core of the matter for education is that the school must help to build up a proper sense of values between individual freedom and social responsibility; between individual expression and creativeness on the one hand, and social adjustment and progress on the other.

NATIONALISM IN INDIA

The discussion of the enhanced liberties of individuals and their desire for self-realization and expression has made clear how these goals are dependent upon society. In fact, the realization of the self comes only in the interaction with other selves. In a very true sense the wider self is the result of the influence of many other selves, and it, in turn, influences those other selves and groups. It is a commonplace to speak of man as a social being and to note how he seeks association with his kind. Yet the wider development of this social impulse is of relatively recent origin.

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[1] Prof. F. W. Foerster, "The Essence of the Present Crisis," *The Living Age*, Vol. 318, No. 4129 (Aug. 25, 1923), p. 345.

In primitive times, men were drawn together because of blood ties, similarity of occupation, or desire for protection. Groups were small, and while there was conformity and cohesion within the group, there was no thought of duties toward anyone outside of the group. In fact, outsiders were usually regarded with hostility and even looked upon as legitimate prey. From this stage man moved forward by extending his interests, interactions, and obligations to larger groupings—the tribe, the caste, the race, and the nation. All of these social groups are clearly discernible in India, but the one now exciting the most comment and interest is the remarkable National Movement. This is, however, only part of a greater movement which is violently agitating the whole Orient and Near East.

In India, the National Movement began many years ago and has gradually gained in strength and power. Its roots are embedded in the cultural forces and past achievements of India. Its political phase goes back to the founding of the National Congress in 1885. This movement originally was one carried on largely by Indians who had received a Western education, and it was first neither widespread in its influence nor radical in its demands. Its emphases were upon enfranchisement, reform, and more responsibility within the British Empire. Gradually a more radical wing developed within the Congress, especially after 1905, which ultimately secured control and which pursued a more aggressive policy. The National Movement first began to take hold of the imagination of the people in 1905 when Lord Curzon and his government carried through a legislative measure, partitioning Bengal into two administrative divisions against the wishes of many people. The Indian press was outspoken in its criticism, and meetings and movements of protest were widespread. The *Swadeshi* movement was inaugurated, a boycott of British goods instituted, and considerable support for these reprisals secured from the city population. The Nationalists declared their aim to be absolute autonomy.

Some very capable leaders came forward, and as a result the National Movement spread, gaining in strength and cohesion. Great emphasis was laid upon India's past greatness, upon her culture and religious traditions, and upon the place of these in her national development and expression.

Besides this desire for a revival of indigenous ideals and culture, there was a reaction against the excessive westernization of the country and the mere imitation of English habits and characteristics. Indians desired to show forth the best in their life and racial inheritance. A passionate love of country, of its history and traditions, developed. The emotional richness of the Indian character was poured out for "Mother India," and Indians claimed unusual accomplishments for their country.

This strong patriotic feeling was especially evident in Indian leaders and among her students. Some idea of its warmth may be gleaned from the following words of Narayan Tilak, the Indian Christian poet:

> Bran shall I eat and rags shall I wear for the sake of thy love, my Motherland, and I shall throw in the dust all that passes for glory and happiness. Sooner or later my soul must quit this mortal house and go, but has death power to take me away from thee? Thou knowest he has not. To be born of thee—how blessed is the privilege. Who is there to rob me of it? Is there any robber so daring? Time? Death? No, none. My body will I sacrifice, my life will I lay down in thy service, my noble land. Some will laugh and some will cry at this ecstasy of love. But I heed them not. Born to fulfill my relationship as a son to thee, I will fulfill it. May God help me.[2]

Many Indians were ready to suffer, to make large sacrifices for their country. They desired that India might occupy a larger place in world affairs and might be more free to make the contribution of which she was capable and which they felt the world needed.

Numerous other factors increased this strong national feeling, some of them even accounting for its origin. Among these were a common language (English) among educated peoples; an education which dealt with Western institutions and with the long, successful struggle for liberty; the lives of great emancipators such as Garibaldi, Mazzini, Lincoln, Shaftesbury, and writers like Burke, Byron, and Mills; the teaching of the Baghavad Gita; the influence of the teachings of Christ; foreign travel; the acts of repression and the personal attitudes of foreigners, especially if these involved disrespect, contempt and injustice; the treatment of Indians abroad (indentured labor), especially within the British Empire; and lastly, the advocacy in various parts of the world of principles of liberty, equality, fraternity, and self-determination. India was also greatly impressed by the success of Mr. Gandhi's long struggle with the South African government—a struggle in which he secured greater economic and social rights for Indians through the practice of non-co-operation and non-resistance. The victory was essentially a moral one and was won only after much suffering, patient persistence, and self-sacrificing endeavor.

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[2] J. C. Winslow, *Narayan Vaman Tilak, The Christian Poet of Maharashtra*, p. 54.

The strongest influence, however, making for widespread nationalism was that resulting from the Great War and the events which followed it.[3] Soldiers who had been gathered from many parts of India fought side by side as representatives of one country and came into touch with the strong national feeling and patriotism of soldiers and peoples from other countries. India's leaders also imbibed much of the political and social idealism which prevailed during the struggle. They expected much in the way of political progress and responsibility after the War, and the King-Emperor's pronouncement in August, 1917, of the gradual bestowal of responsible government upon India brought great satisfaction and joy.

The good effect of this, however, was dissipated by the passing of the Rowlatt Act,[4] which seemed to many a lessening of their freedom, their expression, and their political status. Great unrest and agitation followed this, with people showing their displeasure by *hartals*, rioting, the cutting of telegraph wires, etc. The terrible happenings at Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar)[5] roused India from end to end. The non-co-operation campaign of Mr. Gandhi gained in strength; its extension to village communities tended to unite India politically and to bring about a stronger national feeling than had ever been known before. People in remote sections, who had previously thought of themselves only as members of a village, a tribe, a religious group, or, at most, a province, now became conscious that they were Indians; that they were concerned with the social condition of their countrymen in other sections; that they could do something for Mother India; that they could have a voice in her political life.

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[3] "Many thousand Punjab farmers have seen France and returned greatly impressed by a country, which with its small holdings and industrious peasantry, resembled the Punjab, but in which every man, woman, and child can read and write. They have seen that in a country where all are literate, the money lender's power is diminished and subordinate officials are less rapacious."—*Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore, Punjab), Nov. 4, 1923, p. 15.

[4] The Rowlatt Act, passed in 1918-19 by an official majority of the Imperial Legislative Council, aimed at the prevention of political agitation

Mr. Gandhi's political program took account of the needs of rural people and they quickly recognized him as their leader. His plan involved considerable self-control, sacrifice, and high moral ideals. These included faith in the superiority of moral over physical force; in the power of self-sacrifice and suffering, especially on behalf of others; in non-violence (harmlessness); in non-co-operation; in indigenous hand industries; and in the removing of great social and moral evils which had become a part of religious and social tradition. Many uneducated people, however, were unable to grasp fully the real significance of these standards, with the result that hatred and strife developed, and disorderly outbreaks were numerous.

The world was impressed, on the one hand, with Mr. Gandhi's peaceful political program, backed up by strong moral and re-

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and disorder. Indian leaders resented this legislation because they felt it curtailed their liberties with reference to the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. They felt it was unduly restrictive and incompatible with the spirit of the Reforms and of the greater liberties they had been led to expect.

[5] On April 13, 1919, Brigadier General Dyer of the Jullundur Brigade opened fire at close range on a large group of people assembled in the Jallianwala Bagh, because he claimed a mass meeting was being held in disregard of an order issued by him when the city was under martial law. The military had taken over control of the city because of previous rioting and violence. Firing was continued on the defenseless crowd, resulting in the death of 379 persons (official figures), and the wounding of a large number of others.

ligious ideals; but on the other hand, it saw with misgiving the disorders brought about by those followers who did not fully understand and carry out Mr. Gandhi's plans. In this statement are found indications of both the good and the evil sides of Nationalism, which will be discussed later. The important thing now, however, is to realize how widespread and powerful this movement has become and to understand the new emotions and ambitions which have been stirred in the hearts of the people.

> Few things in history are comparable to the present situation in India. An awakening is taking place in that vast continent, such as mankind witnesses scarcely once in a thousand years. . . . So profound is the change in spirit and outlook that is being effected and so rapidly is the transformation taking place, that no acquaintance with India dating farther back than the last six years or so, would appear to be of much use in estimating the value of the present spiritual upheaval. Without doubt India is moved today as she has not been moved since the decline of her ancient civilization. But what is more significant is that the revolt is giving rise to an idealism whose purpose goes much deeper than the freeing of the country from the political and economic control of Britain; that purpose being indeed to free India and perhaps the whole world from the materialism which threatens East and West alike.[6]

Bernard Houghton, in *The Revolt of the East*, speaks of this spirit of nationalism as a will for self-sacrifice, a zeal for the greatness of their country, an awakening to great national possibilities and unity; and he says that this spirit has transformed and exalted the lives of the people.

NATIONALISM IN THE WEST

While nationalism in the East is a relatively new movement, it has been a dominant force in Europe for many years; it is therefore from the history of nationalism in the West that some guidance may be secured for Indian education, especially with reference to the favorable and unfavorable aspects of nationalism in the development of human society.

Nationalism rose out of the demands of oppressed peoples for the rights of common manhood. It was a reaction against privileged courts and classes and against a feudal serfdom. To achieve their goal men banded together; and gradually love for their cause and devotion to their country tended to supersede the lesser loyalties to family and to feudal lord. Narrow sympathy, limited vision, and circumscribed devotions were changed to more comprehensive loyalties. Men became capable of self-sacrifice in the interests of high causes; they learned to co-operate in large units. In time, they came to glorify their country and were ready to die for it.

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[6] W. Wellock, *India's Awakening*, p. 1. See also Ronaldshay, *India; A Bird's-Eye View*, p. 182.

This development was a natural outreaching of social consciousness and, as such, was a mark of individual and social progress. Development, however, should not stop here, as it has tended to do. Emphasis should pass from the rights and dignities of groups to their wider duties and responsibilities. The individual identifying himself with the nation thinks of its rights, privileges, and prestige and not of what the nation owes its neighbors. The nation is in danger of being like an unsocialized individual, unconscious of or indifferent to the fact that it is a member of a family of nations.

In the history of the growth of nationalism, the nation gradually came to be a supreme object of devotion and loyalty, and its welfare was placed not only above that of all other nations but also in competition with them—sometimes even above the recognized standards of right and wrong. "My country . . . may she ever be right; but my country, right or wrong!"

The organizing of the vital elements of social life on a nationalistic basis has greatly increased the dangers inherent in extreme nationalism. Our politics and statesmanship have been so nationalized that the goal of endeavor is frequently the exalting of one's own country at the expense of others, and ceaseless persistent efforts are made to see that one's nation does not lose its relative prestige in any phase of life. Our financial and economic interests have been so organized and co-ordinated that they have frequently been able to involve the nation in disputes and competitions which result in war. Their operations have often led to such expansions, such commercial privileges, such policies of exploitation and imperialism as have impoverished one group of people to bring wealth and luxury to another. These outreachings for wealth and power have, on the one hand, set up a standard of values which exalts the material and mechanical at the expense of the moral and spiritual, and on the other hand, have inculcated pride, arrogance, and contempt for other peoples rather than sympathy, brotherliness, and co-operation. They have exalted, not the principles of right, of justice, and of service, but those of patronage, force, and repression, which have hindered the development of, and sometimes even incapacitated, other races.

Education itself has been nationalized by developing, under the guise of patriotism, unsocial attitudes in children, which have brought about suspicion and distrust of other nations and arrogance and pride regarding one's own country. National history has been so written and taught as to give the impression that one's native land was always right and all others wrong; that all the atrocities and injustices were committed by opposing countries. Even religion has been used to support national claims and ambitions; and such propaganda has been used as would appeal to religiously minded people and secure their support. So successful has this been at times that the real centre of loyalty for some people has been a tribal or national God.

All this indicates that the very nationalism which once enlarged loyalties has now so hedged them in that severe mental and emotional struggle will be necessary before men can attain to a more sympathetic view. Yet nationalism is not inherently evil, for it is a necessary step in those concentric circles of loyalty which begin with the family and widen out to take in larger groups until they compass the whole of humanity. Love of country and patriotism are certainly not to be weakened but rather to be guided, until men perceive that progress, in the long run, is to be found only in international peace and prosperity.

Considerable space has been given to this subject of nationalism because it is at present a powerful force in India and the Orient and because it is the influence which has given rise to so many of the serious problems which face the world today. In the light of this situation it is all the more imperative that the spirit of nationalism should be so guided in India as to bring about the best results, both within the nation and in India's relationships with other nations. Some of India's leaders realize this. Mahatma Gandhi says, "Hatred is not essential for nationalism. Race hatred will kill the real national spirit. . . . I want the freedom of my country so that the resources of my country may be utilized for the benefit of mankind."[7] Dr. Tagore says, "The principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or of any other race," and Mr. C. R. Dass sums the matter up as follows:

> The nationalism of which I am speaking must not be confused with the concept of nationality as it exists in Europe today. Nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. . . . I contend that each nationality constitutes a particular stream of the great unity, but no nation can fulfil itself unless and until it becomes itself, and at the same time realizes its identity with humanity.[8]

For education this means that history and other social subjects need to be presented in the schools from this point of view. Pupils should be guided to secure adequate facts on both sides of controversial questions, to evaluate the worth of these, to study their data impartially, to understand sympathetically not only their own country's ideals but also the effect of their country's activities upon other nations and the whole world. Pupils should be led to see both the strong and the weak phases of their country's history and should be stimulated to work for the improvement of its short-comings. They should be led to recognize that the very strength of their country constitutes a responsibility with reference to the furthering of the welfare of humanity.

The Race Question

Closely allied to the problems associated with nationalism are those of race, which are probably the most urgent, widespread, and difficult facing the world today. This matter of racial relationships is a good illustration of how social dispositions and antipathies govern conduct and how they become more powerful than intellectual reasoning and sober judgment. Even when the causes of distrust have been removed, the bad feeling often persists, all of which indicates that education has an imperative duty in this connection.

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[7] M. K. Gandhi, *The Guardian,* Sept. 3, 1925.

[8] Quoted in Van Tyne, *India in Ferment,* p. 234.

The race question illustrates how the more intimate contacts of diverse peoples cause serious friction, especially when large numbers are thrown into competition or when they occupy positions of marked difference in social and political status. This has recently been aggravated by the way in which races and civilizations have impinged upon each other as a result of modern transportation. Such contact, on diverse social levels, has resulted, not in co-operation but in competition, in exploitation, and in those feelings of superiority, contempt, fear, and hatred which now poison the streams of international life.

For this situation the white man is chiefly to blame. In his desire for larger territory, for national prestige, for trade privileges, for more raw products, for wealth and power, he has frequently reached out and laid hold of territory and resources in other countries, with little or no regard for the inhabitants of these lands. In fact, in some cases the members of backward races have been looked upon as mere tools in the production of wealth for their employers.

Notwithstanding the fact that the white races have secured control of seven-eighths of the earth's surface and have used it to increase their own wealth and to raise their already high standards of living, they, in general, resent the migration of peoples to their lands because they fear this would mean a lowering of wages and of standards of living. This attitude is deeply resented as a racial insult in countries where nationalism is strong, and though such economic conditions are not due to racial differences, they are aggravated by the racial factor.

There are also likely to be racial tensions in cases where there is political domination of one race over another which is just coming into national consciousness. The result is quick resentment over any attitude of superiority, a ready suspicion of motives, and a sensitiveness to the slightest offense. Again, this tension is not inherently due to race, but rather to the political positions of the two parties.

Still another cause of racial friction is the difference in racial cultures and ideals. The West emphasizes production, wealth, luxury, physical conveniences, speed; the East stresses contemplation, peace, harmony with nature, simplicity of life, religious thought. These cultural differences are often very marked. The important thing to note, however, is that one of these is not superior to the other but complementary; that humanity can be enriched only by a synthesis of the various contributions. The East would profit greatly by a more dynamic attitude to life, a greater progressiveness, a larger use of the scientific method, and by a freer, less rigid social life. The West, on the other hand, needs the emphasis upon the spiritual side of life, upon placing values on things which are lasting and eternal, upon contemplation and serenity of spirit, upon greater simplicity, upon toleration and catholicity of spirit, and upon a larger unity and co-ordination of life.

It is these economic, political, and cultural differences rather than racial differences themselves which tend to interfere with world fellowship. Accordingly, the problem of race today is not merely one of inherent racial differences but of finding a solution to economic, social, and political problems which have tended to follow racial lines. Fundamentally, the solution of the problem involves an appreciation of humanity as a family, of the worth of each individual in that family, and of an ability to put oneself in the other man's position. It involves the appreciation of even the humblest contribution and a larger sense of brotherhood and of mutual dependence and service. Unless religion, education, or other social institutions can build up these attitudes, the future looks dark indeed.

Other sources of friction which are more clearly racial could easily be mentioned. One of the greatest of these is social custom and habit. Each race has personal habits regarding cleanliness, sanitation, adornment, methods of living, of eating, of social fellowship and courtesies, of social customs and taboos, which appear not only strange, but even revolting to others, and when races are thrown into intimate contact these often become barriers to fellowship.

In the school two points regarding these need to be emphasized. First, at some point in the race's history there was probably a good reason for the inauguration of a certain custom, and second, that many of these antipathies to personal habits and social customs are mutual. The member of the other race is probably just as shocked and revolted by what we do as we are by his actions. Moreover, it needs to be made clear that these social antipathies do not follow racial lines only, but are found within races. The customs and manners of a cultured member of any race are very different from those of an ignorant, unsocialized member, which indicates how these customs are all subject to change through education and training.

As to inherent physical and mental differences in races, there is not so much divergence as has commonly been supposed. Attempts have been made to differentiate races according to the shape of the skull, the facial angle, the color of the hair, and the pigmentation of the skin. The present tendency is to minimize rather than magnify these differences, for there are indications of changes in physical characteristics, when races have been transplanted to other environments and among other peoples for many generations. In fact, it would be difficult to find pure or unmixed races in the world today. A far greater truth than racial diversification is the fundamental unity of mankind.

As to differences in mental capacity between races, much more investigation is necessary in this field, as in that of ethnology, before any absolute statements can be made. However, even with the use of intelligence tests based upon European conceptions and standards, there are no classes of intelligence so high that representatives of the colored races are not in them, or so low that white people are not there. No race, as a race, is to be found only in the higher or the lower end of the intelligence scale, and the differences between the extremes of intelligence in any one race are greater than those between races.

All these facts are encouraging from the standpoint of those desiring to see the races drawn together and co-operating for a better world order. While physical differences exist, they are not of such a nature as to separate people into distinct and isolated groups. There is much more overlapping than is usually conceded. Moreover, there is no proof of instinctive racial antipathy, and most of the evidence seems to be against it. Even white races and individuals within any race differ greatly in their attitudes to other races. If these attitudes could be analyzed, it is quite likely that they would be found to be based, not on inherent racial characteristics but on outward circumstances which have become associated with race.

The idea of the races as a human family is not a mere generality or a golden dream. It fulfills existing, fundamental conditions, and it merely carries a few steps further the enlarging social contacts and groupings which have marked the recent past. Even in a family members are not all the same: they differ one from another, but each has a contribution to make through which the life of all is enriched. Moreover, they learn how to talk over their differences; to settle disputes; to respond to social guidance and pressure; to work together for common ends; to improve standards of conduct and ideals of life. This is largely possible because of the realization that they are members one of another; that they must stand together; that good will and reasonableness must guide their conduct; that each person, young or old, must be treated as a reasonable being and must have the opportunity to make whatever contribution he can for the welfare of the group. It is not expected that the contribution of each one should be the same but that he should merely do the best he can. The weak or immature one is not held in contempt because of his present position, but, rather, the other members of the family help in his development and growth. All of these conditions and results should apply to larger groups and to nations. They also define the goals toward which education must guide children.

Unless education and religion can build up these "family" ideals and ethical attitudes toward other groups and can bring about a spirit of understanding and co-operation to worthy ends, there does not seem to be much hope for a new day. Dr. Tagore emphasizes this in a recent article:

> What I want to make clear is the fact that since, as in the present age, the human races have come out of their traditional reservation fence into mutual contact, the reliance on a universal ethical standard is the only means which can save humanity from disruption into barbarianism or death. The late war . . . is merely an indication that in the hurry of the scientific progress of the West, which has made the human world physically almost one country, the cultivation of the ethical ideals needful for this condition has been overlooked.[9]

All this is vital to India, for she is faced not only with foreigners who are in her midst in the capacity of rulers, manufacturers, traders, missionaries, etc., but she has within her own social structure many diverse races, cultures and religions which, with a caste system which has perpetuated social distinctions, constitute a unique racial problem. Probably the most urgent questions are those of Hindu-Moslem unity and untouchability, but numerous other relationships must sooner or later be adjusted, and education should help in preparing dispositions and attitudes to solve these.

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[9] "The New Age," *The World Tomorrow*, Nov., 1925.

Economic Conditions

Mention has been already made of the economic factor as one of the causes of class and racial tension, and recent events indicate that, with the present industrial organization, this will continue to be a source of social and international strife.

The industrial revolution and the consequent increase in production necessitated wider markets and larger sources of raw products. The more effective organization of industry, rapid transportation, economic competition, and enlarging capital only increased this necessity. Nothing less than world markets both for produce and for capital must be found and raw materials sought for in more and more distant fields. These needs led to extensive colonial expansion and often to the securing of control of lands and raw products for little or no payment. Moreover, cheap labor was needed, and it was often exploited, the employer frequently caring little for the welfare and improvement of the human beings involved but emphasizing strongly increased production. Not all employers and traders are of this character, and conditions for those who labor are being somewhat improved; yet it is true that the wages paid in most of these industries bear no adequate relationship to the profits involved. The workers have not shared as they should in the increased productivity of industry.

Not only regarding wages but in housing, adequate physical protection, opportunities for development, for recreation, for self-expression, workers have often been neglected. In many countries women and children are employed and both they and the men work for long hours, sometimes under unhealthy and unsafe conditions. Moreover, standardized production has frequently meant the mechanical performing of one small operation hour after hour and day after day, the monotony of it all causing unrest and the drying up of any gifts of creativeness and originality the worker possessed. Goods, wealth, power, mechanical progress, and organization have been the goals of endeavor, and the methods have often been those of exploitation, competition, and repression, which have so frequently brought about strife and even wars. Free competition necessarily means that the weak, the ignorant, the poor must go to the wall, be they individuals or nations. The rights of individuals, the opportunity to progress, the development of mind and spirit, the free interaction of workers and employers all tend to be neglected and sometimes suppressed by these complicated organizations and mechanisms. This leads to the exaltation of materialism above ethical and spiritual values and to the erecting or strengthening of the barriers dividing men one from another.

Many believe that this system cannot endure, that it is not only productive of injustice, inequality, strife, the loss of human rights and of self-expression, but that the present rate of expansion, of production, and of consequent demand for raw products will in time lead to a lack of markets on the one hand, and of raw materials on the other.

In the minds of some, the solution lies in an extension of the ideas of co-operation and service, in the exaltation of social and ethical principles over selfish and materialistic ones. These co-operative principles are already being recognized within certain groups of employers, workers, and consumers, but as yet they do not operate as among these groups. The employer has his co-operating directorate, his organization of superintendents, foremen, etc., to work together for increased production. The workers have their labor unions or craft guilds. The consumers have their purchasing associations. Small groups see even now that the interests of these three are one, and so they are willing to co-operate in the reaching of these ends. Yet their vision is not yet large enough to see that humanity is one family; that its races of men, whatever their variety, comprise but one species; that the gain and exaltation of one group at the expense of another can never result in anything but dissatisfaction and strife. We have grown accustomed to seeing co-operation manifested in a family, in a primitive social group, in a class organization (trade union, marketing association, etc.), but as yet we have not succeeded in persuading large aggregations of people that they too should have socially valuable, common ends.

There is, however, a growing tendency toward economic co-operation, and some promising attempts have been made along social, religious, and political lines.[10]

While elementary education cannot do much to alter present economic practices, it can accomplish a great deal in building up shared interests, in causing pupils to co-operate for worthy aims, in developing confidence in other nations and a sense of service toward them, in bringing about an appreciation for all who labor, and in sharing the aims and ideals of wider groups working for social welfare.[11]

The Futility of War

In times past war has been considered an important method of settling racial and national differences, jealousies, and relative supremacies. The recent Great War, however, has done much to deepen the conviction in many minds that war is now suicidal, that reliance upon force and violence defeats itself, and that modern war results in retrogression. The impoverished condition of both victor and vanquished, the aftermath of social, economic, and political problems, the suspicion, fear, and resentment which still remain—all these indicate that war is now an enemy of mankind. As one writer has stated, "War in a sufficiently integrated world is social suicide."[12] Consider the ten million dead soldiers, three million missing, thirteen million dead civilians, twenty million wounded, fourteen million war orphans and widows, ten million refugees. Consider the enormous expense involved, the burden of debt, the impoverishment of lands, the destruction of buildings, the dislocation of industry, of morals, and of society; the suffering, the unrest, the bitterness, and the hate. Nothing has been settled by the war; nothing made safer. In fact some nations have continued practices which encourage strife, and it continues to be a difficult matter to keep down competition in armaments and preparedness for war. Modern warfare has clearly shown itself to be a colossal calamity, a great scourge of modern life, and yet the attitudes of national fear and rivalry are so strong that elaborate, expensive, and even more destructive preparations continue to be made for it.

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[10] Federal Council of Churches, *Informational Service* (Jan. 2, 1926), p. 2.

[11] G. A. Gollock, "A New Era of Missionary Co-operation," *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1926.

[12] Wm. H. Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, p. 27.

The conviction is growing, however, that war is not inevitable; and this being so, it is essential for mankind to find ways by which war can be outlawed and eliminated. Those who have maintained that war is necessary have often based their contention on the fact that the instinct of rage in man demands an outlet. Yet we know that the combative instinct (or any other tendency that is harmful under modern social conditions) can in time be successfully sublimated to valuable social uses. Moreover, the existence of the instinct of rage does not mean that every so often it must be aroused to activity in harmful ways. In fact, its disuse, or its redirection, will make the original tendency less and less ready to act in combative ways. Few, if any, wars have been due to the spontaneous expression of the nation's combative tendencies, but rather to the encouragement of war by the group in power, usually after considerable thought and deliberation. The combative tendency is considerably less responsible for the inauguration of war than are the love of prestige and power; the desire for economic imperialism; belligerent nationalism; acts of aggression; secret diplomacy; military preparedness, fear, suspicion, jealousy, and insidious propaganda.

An examination of these causes indicates that they are all self-regarding, that they do not go beyond the satisfying of selfish ambition. The remedy, many believe, lies in the extension of the area of good-will and co-operation, so that not only individuals and organizations but governments as well will recognize their superiority over force and violence. The old standards of terror and force must be relinquished for the more fruitful ones of understanding, friendship, and co-operation. The League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the various efforts to lessen armaments, to reduce causes and areas of friction, to promote education for world peace, to secure an international treaty outlawing war, to promote international understanding and friendship are all attempts in the right direction.

Education plays a very important part in all this. Not only must it guide pupils into an understanding and evaluation of the different ways of bringing about world peace, but it must also actively develop the disposition and purpose to enlarge the areas of good-will, sympathetic understanding, and hearty co-operation. It must also build up an attitude against violence and brute force and an active appreciation of worthy efforts to outlaw war.

INTERNATIONALISM

Practically all of the foregoing discussion is vitally related to the subject of internationalism. All that has been said about the world's becoming more compact, relatively smaller, a large neighborhood, indicates how natural obstacles and boundaries have been broken down; how even racial and national limits are found to be inadequate; how peoples everywhere are faced with the problems of getting along with representatives of almost all the other races. Some years ago, relatively few people had the vision and broadness of sympathy which enabled them to take in a world in their thinking. Today it is becoming necessary for all people to grow in world-mindedness. This need is not confined to any one phase of life, but is found in all interests and activities. Mankind is becoming more and more interdependent, and this not only makes for the enrichment of life but also results in many serious and intricate problems. Most people are aware of this in physical and material ways. They recognize that much of our food, clothing, and house furnishing comes from remote parts of the world and are the fruits of the labor of a large variety of races. In fact, any one product probably passes through the hands of the representatives of many races before it reaches us. But not only is there this interdependence regarding material needs; there is also a tremendous multiplication of personal and national contacts, both face-to-face and by correspondence. All these involve social adjustments, for the economic, commercial, and social standards of races differ, and there are many potential sources of friction.

Even deeper than these, however, are the intellectual, moral, and spiritual contacts, which are the fundamental elements of people's beings. These need to be understood if, on the one hand, frictions are to be avoided, and, on the other, the mind and life of the world are to be enriched. These deeper, spiritual elements of races are not to be understood by superficial contact but involve study, a sympathetic attitude, an ability to put oneself in the place of others, a habit of mind which looks for meritorious things, and, finally, an attitude of respect and good-will which rejoices in finding anything, from whatever source, which will enrich the life of the world. Such an outlook does not involve the underestimating of the contribution of one's own race or nation, but rather the development of this along such lines as shall enrich the world's stream of experience.

World consciousness, responsibility, fellowship, and co-operation will not be possible for many adults without severe mental conflicts, but only as world consciousness is developed in the younger generation will there be the largest possibilities for peace and social progress. The present situation demands these adjustments and lays upon education in every country a great responsibility. The social and economic problems which the younger generation must in time face will practically all have some world significance, and their solution can be satisfactory and lasting only when it is just and equitable for peoples everywhere. Many world-minded thinkers see this need. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says:

> Man will have to exert all his power of love and clarity of vision to make another great moral adjustment which will comprehend the whole world of men and not merely the fractional groups of nationality. The call has come to every individual in the present age to prepare himself and his surroundings for the spiritual unity of all human beings.[13]

And Mr. J. H. Oldham thus states the types of attitudes which the school and other social agencies must build up to meet the new world conditions:

> Reverence for life; an interest in persons as persons; the spirit of justice and fair play; sympathy with one's fellow men and the desire to serve them; and the purpose to seek first the Kingdom of God are the qualities which, expressed in the lives of individuals, promote racial understanding and good-will. If the home and school succeed in forming these dispositions, those who possess them will not be found wanting, when the time comes to apply the habits acquired in a more restricted environment to wider relations. An ounce of humor, of human understanding, of the sense of fair play, of the instinct for dealing with men may often be worth more than pounds of admirable racial theory.[14]

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[13] *Nationalism*, pp. 121, 123. [14] *Christianity and the Race Problem*, p. 244.

While these goals of education are stated in adult terms, the basic principles are nearly all applicable to elementary education and should be utilized there. Too early a start cannot be made in these large loyalties, which may eventually mean world peace, co-operation, and service.

DEMOCRACY

To many people democracy promises a solution of some of the most perplexing problems of government and of social and economic life. Originally democracy was thought of simply as a theory of government, but it has now become a philosophy of life, "a conscious effort to found society on an ethical basis." On this broader basis, democracy has been defined as "the right of the masses to a participation in all the essential satisfactions of life and the right to control the means and agencies by which such satisfactions are distributed in society."[15] From the standpoint of government, the notable definition by Mazzini, similar to that of Lincoln, is rich in meaning: Democracy is the government of all, by all, for all, under the leadership of the wisest and best.

In these conceptions of democracy several elements are prominent. The first is the large and important place given to the people. In this is involved the idea of the value of each human personality. The responsible participation of all persons is emphasized, and with this the right to share in the fruits of co-operative effort and in all the satisfactions of life. Natural resources, social institutions, cultural resources exist for man, to stimulate his creative expression, to enrich his life, but always with reference to the rights of others.

This responsible participation of each person in public affairs implies several things. First of all, it means such individual freedom as will enable one to realize his best self, for only so can he make his unique contribution to society. This involves the right of the individual to think independently, to express his opinion, to purpose and carry out his activities, to have freedom of worship—in short, to direct his own life as long as this does not interfere with the rights of others. Each person has a right to life, to liberty, to self-development, to happiness, to a voice in the political and social life.

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[15] "One of the great objects of civilization is to suppress force and to exalt the rule of reason. Therefore as men come under the influence of democratic ideals and spirit, they find larger individual and community liberty; fewer and fewer forcible restrictions are put upon their life . . . and the individual is led out into a larger life, which is the life of the mind, of the soul, and of the spirit, which the trained and healthy body is educated as the instrument to serve."—President N. M. Butler, Address at International House, April 27, 1924.

Only that individual is truly free, however, who has achieved freedom from his own worst self, from ignorance, from prejudice, from selfishness. Freedom is not mere absence of restraint but the willing and purposeful identification of oneself with what makes for individual and social welfare and progress. The true goal is the development and expression of each person along such lines as will be for the best interests of all.

Democracy also involves the seeking out of the wisest and best for leadership. Since these leaders are to come from no particular class but are to be the wisest and most capable available, it is necessary to give to all persons large opportunities for development and then to select the best.

Again, since all persons are to have the right of suffrage, to have some personal responsibility in government, in selecting leaders, in helping to determine policies, it is imperative that all should have a sufficiently basic education to enable them to perform intelligently the civic responsibilities devolving upon them.

It is thus clear that democracy does not emphasize merely rights, but responsibilities as well. Each individual has responsibility for the government, and for the general welfare of society. This social responsibility is of various kinds. In the first place, the individual has a responsibility in helping to make and to obey the laws, not only with regard to government but in social and economic ways as well. According to democracy, laws should be framed in accordance with the will of those who have to obey them; for liberty is to be found in the social approval of and the willing obedience to such laws. Each should inform himself and keep himself informed as to the legislative needs of his community and of the nation. He should be able to determine what is for the social good. As to the criteria which the average citizen may use in order to determine the social worth of any measure, we turn for guidance to Woodrow Wilson:

> . . . every program, every measure in every program, must be tested by this question and this question only: Is it just; is it for the benefit of the average man, without influence or privilege; does it embody in real fact the highest conception of social justice and of right dealing without respect of person or class or particular interest?[16]

In a democracy laws are conceived as agreements made by the majority of the people to control conduct for the best good of all. So far as these are generally recognized as essential safeguards of life, liberty, and social welfare, they are likely to be generally obeyed, and there will be little consciousness of constraint. In the case of a strong minority, there is always the possibility of the utilization of the press, platform, and other agencies for educating public opinion in order to bring about a desired change in the law. The essential principles are: that the control should come from within and not from superimposed and autocratic authority; that laws which serve personal or class interests at the expense of other people are undemocratic; and that there must be obedience to the authority constituted by the people and exercised by their consent.

One of the striking trends of the present day is the questioning and challenging of external authority. People are no longer content to submit to beliefs, theories, customs and laws sanctioned merely by age or prestige. They desire to know the actual facts, the practical value, the real truth, the motive behind these things. Along with the "divine right of kings," submission to extrinsic authority is passing away. Tradition, crystallized, static religions and moral codes, and inherited social institutions are all being questioned. People are insisting upon their right to think and to have a voice in these things which control and influence their lives. So far as this demand leads to constructive thinking and social reconstruction, it is a hopeful manifestation of social responsibility.

As a result of this participation in the important affairs of mankind, the individual has a very definite responsibility to improve himself, so that he can contribute his best to the welfare of all. This involves trained intelligence, healthiness of body, clean living, economic contribution, cultured tastes, social helpfulness, and high ideals.

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[16] March, 1918.

To sum up, then, democracy involves the co-operation of all for the common good. It emphasizes that no man liveth unto himself, that we are all members one of another. True freedom implies working with and for one's fellows. In the present stage of civilization effective organization is necessary in order to achieve this. The organization approved by democracy is a fraternal, co-operative one, in which each person does the thing he is best fitted to do, which contributes to and furthers the consciously chosen social end.

Co-operative organization of this type demands expert guidance. This is not opposed to democracy, either in government or in social and economic life, but democracy requires that all have a share in the choosing of the expert who shall guide and the right to recall him when his work and conduct are not approved. Democracy is best served in this whole process when the interests of the group are widely shared by all its members and when the group freely and fully interacts with many other groups.[17] Such interaction should be expansive, reaching out to more extensive international relationships and yet ever governed by the great ideals of the worth of each individual and the brotherhood of man. It must take a long look ahead and value the growth and development of man more than it values his product.

A democracy, therefore must be fraternal. The highest ideal of a democracy is a real brotherhood. If the spirit of brotherhood be not present in full measure there can be no democracy. In fact, true democracy is spirit rather than form. If you cannot feel right toward your fellows, feel the dignity and worth of each man, feel glad when he succeeds and sorry when he fails, feel angry when injustice prevails and be courageous to insist on a square deal for every man, feel anxious that every man have his chance as well as that you have yours—if you have not this attitude, you are by that much short of being a true democrat.[18]

Democracy such as has been described is largely an ideal. It probably does not exist anywhere today in its fullness. Yet it is the goal toward which many are striving and which they believe would transform many of the present unsatisfactory social, economic, and political conditions.

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[17] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 93.

[18] K. L. Butterfield, *The Farmer and the New Day*, p. 218.

The inferences for the school, with regard to the relation of teacher and pupils and of pupils with each other, are probably obvious. Suppression of personality, mere external authority, stereotyped procedure, the ignoring of pupils' interests, ideas, plans, etc., must give way to a real classroom democracy, in which self-control, the social stimulation of each individual, social sharing, self-direction, evaluation, co-operation, social service and creative expression are given full opportunity to develop.

The Scientific Method

One other modern development which influences education will be discussed, namely, the scientific method and attitude. To many people the widely known and tested truths of astronomy, geology, geography, physics, chemistry, applied science, and natural history seem to have been handed down to us through long periods of time. As a matter of fact, however, they practically all date from comparatively recent times. Although there have been many scholars and thinkers through the centuries, their efforts were mainly devoted to metaphysical and philosophical thinking which was not tested by experiment and which was not applied to the practical everyday affairs of men. Thinking was but mental speculation, largely apart from life and social needs. There seemed no need or inclination even to try out in a practical way what had been handed down from earlier times, and to doubt the statements of the ancient sages would have been deemed heresy.

But with the daring voyage of Columbus and the other discoveries and expansive movements which followed, together with the revolutionary discovery of Copernicus, a great intellectual change came into being. Men's minds became more open; a spirit of inquiry was awakened; there were keener observation and closer study of cause and effect; more value was attached to the evidence of the senses, to the collecting of data, and to tested thought. New ideas in one department of life gave rise to new ideas in another. Gradually superstition, prejudice, and belief in magic were broken down, and men built up a technique of investigation; of collecting pertinent facts; of organizing these and arriving at tentative conclusions; of collecting more data by experimentation to test repeatedly the hypotheses; and, finally, of reasoning through all the tested results to a correct, inclusive judgment.

This thinking through to correct conclusions, carefully tested, on the basis of facts, we speak of as the scientific method. It is to this emphasis upon objective data; upon the acceptance of only those things which can be verified; upon using tested conclusions as a basis for yet further investigations and insight into nature's life and operation, that the great inventions and scientific advances of modern times have been due. It is also this experimental technique and this reliance upon tested thought which have been among the outstanding contributions of recent times.[19] This scientific method has resulted in a new conception of the universe. It has demonstrated that the universe is orderly, that things do not just happen but that they are the result of causes and that these can be studied and reduced to laws. It has shown that such things as the motions of the heavenly bodies, the recurrence of seasons, the alternation of day and night, etc., are absolutely regular and can be computed with mathematical precision. Science has also shown that life is characterized by development, that it is not merely a fixed, mechanical thing, but rather a growing organism not marked by steady, regular stages of growth but tending in general upward. It has also told us that there are some indications that this development is not merely aimless but purposeful.

Through its inventions this scientific method has resulted in breaking down the walls of social separation, in bringing the peoples of the world to our very doors. It has made us dependent upon one another and has made it necessary for us to attempt to work out a world organization and fellowship. It has not only resulted in marvelous discoveries, great industrial progress, better health and living conditions, an integrated world with wide social interactions, but in a changed intellectual outlook, and it is probably in this fact that there is much hope for continued progress.

Yet despite the very great contribution the scientific spirit has made to the material and intellectual phases of life, it has within it potential dangers. Scientific invention has served to increase production and wealth; to increase comforts and luxuries; to increase leisure time; to multiply wants and to raise the standard of living. All of these are of great value but they are largely on one side of life, the material and physical. When to this is added the use of science in perfecting gases, poisons, and mechanisms as instruments of destruction, it becomes apparent that more thought and effort must be expended in accelerating the pace of moral and social adjustments, so that there may be less divergence between these and material progress than is now apparent.[20] Moral and spiritual development have undoubtedly lagged behind material progress to such an extent that many social leaders are seriously troubled about present conditions.

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[19] Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, p. 9.

> Various writers have made us familiar with the conception of social lag. Progress is seldom uniform. . . . Perhaps the most interesting instance of this is where through mechanical inventions new ways of living are introduced and the regulative social-moral outlook and ways of behaving lag behind. Thus at the present time industrialism has greatly changed American living but our general legal and moral outlooks remain much the same as when life was largely rural and agricultural. If mechanical inventions come with ever increasing frequency and our ways of living change accordingly, surely our moral outlook must keep abreast of other changes or society may suffer greatly. Not a few very sober thinkers judge that we are now suffering in just this way. Our moral vision and grasp seem practically unequal to the new situations that have arisen.[21]

Nevertheless man should no more be overwhelmed by the magnitude and complexity of these problems than he has been by those of the physical universe. The same courageous attack, the same objective study of cause and effect, the same type of analytical thinking, planning, and careful testing of outcomes should yield hopeful results, even though this moral problem is more complicated and less susceptible to objective testing than the other.

In fact, the development of moral and spiritual life and character is absolutely essential, if man is not to destroy himself by the very science he has so skillfully built up. The war clearly indicated this danger, and the growth of materialism in some quarters since then, together with the discovery of far more destructive gases and appliances, show even more clearly than before, that mankind's only hope is in building up spiritual and moral power which will keep in control the destructive passions and forces which can so easily be let loose. In the words of Dr. Ernest Barker, of King's College, London:

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[20] T. Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution,* p. 105.

[21] Kilpatrick, *op. cit.,* pp. 45-46.

> It is not scientific technique in itself that matters; it is the power of the human spirit to control that technique for the highest purposes. In the absence of control, technique may be a danger; granted the control, it is an instrument of progress. Everything depends upon the control of that technique.[22]

A Rapidly Changing World

Mention has been made of the large number of inventions and of the industrial expansion due to scientific thinking, investigation, and their practical application. These have led to tremendous changes, not merely in the shortening of space and time and the integrating of the whole world, but in intellectual, social, and moral life as well. Not only have there been more inventions in the past hundred years than in the previous thousand, but there have also been more intellectual and social awakenings on the part of groups, races, and nations. These changes have meant extensive adjustments, and many peoples have not been able to make them either rapidly enough or in a satisfactory manner. The result is unrest, instability, and even violence.

Further inventions and even more rapid change in the future will make necessary more tested and more organized knowledge and more tried and effective techniques of investigation. This will mean a still more complex civilization, a dynamic society, where one cannot expect the same situations to recur frequently. In such conditions, fixed habits, trained responses, and generalized solutions will not work. Since we cannot foretell what those who are now children will probably meet later in life, we must emphasize in school the techniques of sensing difficulties and lacks in adjustment, of analyzing them, of securing the necessary facts, of organizing and utilizing these facts for the securing of solutions that will work. We must get children to see the need for modifying such outcomes as society changes and to be readily adaptable to the changed situations. Only in such attitudes, foresight, reflective and tested procedures, is there hope for meeting an even more dynamic civilization than we now have.

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[22] "Will our Civilization Survive?" *New York Times*, May 24, 1925.

While science has helped to make the world one, while it has helped in showing the essential unity of man and in indicating the orderliness of the universe, it has remained for an Indian scientist, Sir J. C. Bose to emphasize the essential unity of science itself. Professor Bose thinks that the excessive specialization of the West may lead to the losing sight of the fundamental truth that there are not sciences but a single science that includes all. He says that in his investigations into the action of forces upon matter he found boundary lines between organic and inorganic matter tending to vanish and to discover points of contact emerging between the living and the non-living. Professor Bose can conceive of few greater contributions to knowledge in the realm of science than the establishing of the underlying unity of all nature, amidst its great diversity.[23] Thus science may itself point to the solution of some of the difficulties which science has raised for men.

If there are those who feel that education, in the presence of these problems created by a rapidly changing world, faces an impossible task, and that what has been advocated in this chapter is impossible and idealistic, the plea is made that what is advocated is based upon sound moral and social principles which are increasingly laying hold upon the imaginations of men. These principles include the conception of the worth and infinite possibilities of each individual, the realization that all the interests of mankind exist in common—that no person or group can be kept down without exerting a downward pull on all the others, that mankind is one, that in deed and truth we are brothers, that the testimony of history bears witness to the fact that nothing is settled until it is settled justly and that selfish, unjust projects ultimately fail, while moral and spiritual ideals gradually and persistently win their way. Who can deny that children, growing into a conviction of these principles and equipped intellectually, morally, and socially to put them into operation, constitute our richest promise of a better world?

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[23] Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, pp. 247, 248.

CHAPTER XVI

MODERN EDUCATIONAL IDEALS AND CURRICULUM PRINCIPLES

THE MODERN EMPHASIS

LEADING EDUCATIONAL thinkers in Europe and America have already influenced Indian education and will doubtless do so to an even greater extent in the future. Much of what they teach has been scientifically tested, and India may profit greatly by this body of educational truth if she relates it intelligently to her own life. It is the purpose of this chapter to give a brief outline in simple, untechnical language of the leading principles in the philosophy and methods of education as developed by Dewey, Kilpatrick, Thorndike, and Bonser—all of whom have had great influence upon modern educational thought and practice.

It is now generally recognized that education, to be effective, must be based upon a sound educational philosophy, an adequate psychology, and a dynamic sociology. A sound educational philosophy is necessary in order to determine objectives and procedures and to evaluate present methods and results. Adequate psychology is necessary in order to understand the instincts, capacities, interests, and gradual development of the child, who is the center of the educational process. A dynamic sociology is necessary in order that education may utilize the valuable elements of the race's experience and may train the child to be a force for good in the social order of the present and of the future.

Even a cursory survey of present tendencies in these three fields, however, reveals that while no one field is neglected, a predominant emphasis in each one is upon the social side. This emphasis is doubtless an outgrowth of the psychological study of the child, which has revealed that practically from the very first days of his life, his development proceeds through the interaction of his instincts and tendencies with his immediate environment. This process of interaction is often unguided, and yet it results in remarkable progress, and an understanding of even the very early stages of the child's life provides principles of vital importance to education.

Every child comes into the world with an equipment of inborn tendencies and capacities which tend to call forth certain responses to certain stimuli. The baby will cry out because of discomfort or pain; he will in time reach out for a bright object, grasp it, manipulate it; he will make exploratory movements; he will move his arms and legs vigorously; he will manifest anger, fear, or cuddling tendencies, depending upon the stimuli used. Moreover, these tendencies are highly modifiable, and they are quickly conditioned by environmental contact. He learns to associate the milk bottle with food. If, when he cries, the bottle is given to him, he associates food with crying; if, upon making a definite sound a certain satisfaction is secured (and this repeated often enough), the child will give the sound whenever he wants that satisfaction. In this way a whole series of new responses may be built into the child's mental (nervous) mechanism, the stimuli generally being environmental objects and persons.

In this process two things are clearly involved—the child and the environment, and in their interaction changes take place in both. Those within the child have already been spoken of, but the environmental ones often escape notice. Manifestations of the child's anger or fear or cuddling tendencies affect also his human and material environment, bringing pain, anxiety, or pleasure to his mother, or destruction or special care to objects. Both of these phases of the experience are vital to education, and each needs to be studied.

The matter, however, is not so simple as building a single response to each stimulus. Environmental stimuli are constantly changing and so is the child. New adjustments need to be made. The tendency may be to respond in a certain way to an environmental situation, but when it is found that the situation has slightly changed and that the old response does not fit, it is necessary to modify the old response. These modifications and interconnections become more and more complex as life continues, especially if the person retains in large degree the power of adjusting himself to new situations, ideas, and contacts. The modifying of these tendencies and responses in an individual is what is known as education, and the process of making such changes, as learning.

This educative process is so important in human development that its steps should be given in Dr. Kilpatrick's own words:

> Some on-moving activity is under way. Some interest has been put in jeopardy and the agent is moving to make it secure. Some hindrance or obstacle intervenes. The movement is thwarted. The old supply of responses working in accustomed ways does not suffice. Something new or different is needed in kind or degree of response. The agent sets to work to get this new kind or degree of response. His procedure may vary from the most original and independent scientific search, to the most barefaced acceptance upon unsupported authority of the proper response to make. The agent applies his newly got response to the removal of the hindrance with the consequent resumption of the balked activity.[1]

Now the child's experiences vary greatly in their value to him. Some may simply be repetitions of previous ones, through which the response becomes strengthened and more fixed as a habit. These may involve little thinking or conscious effort. Others, as he becomes older, may require not only the calling out of all pertinent past experiences but the securing and using of information from books, observation, inquiry, and experimentation. Such an experience has important effects on mind and character and tends to lead to other closely related activities. Experience has shown that those activities will probably be of most value which are entered into purposefully; which possess a gripping interest to children; which challenge their resources but are still successfully realizable by them; which are psychologically complete, being carried through over all difficulties until the end-result is secured. They will be activities which are definitely related to life and to the child's needs; which are varied in comparison with other experiences, bringing about growth in physical, mental, social (including character), and aesthetic values; which are shared with others; which lead to other rich experiences. Practically all of these qualities are recognizable to a greater or less extent in much of the children's out-of-school experience, which is rich with possibilities both for mental growth and for character results. The main thing it lacks is guidance by a sympathetic intelligent person, in order that the experience may be kept on the highest levels of social ideas and of learning, and this is the real place and work of the teacher and of the school. One of the most important lessons for education to learn is the very great potential educational value possessed by the spontaneous play activities and experiences of children outside of the school, and the need for continuing the most valuable of these in the classroom.

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[1] "What is the Educative Process?" *Religious Education,* XVIII (Feb., 1923), 38-42.

The Learning Process

It now remains to analyze more in detail the learning process which has been described, in order to see the philosophical, psychological, and sociological bases underlying it and to understand more fully its classroom implications.[2]

The central place of purpose in play and life activities has already been emphasized. The most effective life is generally recognized to be the life animated by a worthy purpose, and the most fruitful activity to be one carried through on a high level of purpose, which genuinely grips the pupils and supplies the motive power for the whole activity. "The purpose defines the end to be attained, guides the whole activity toward this end, furnishes the energy to carry it on, and it is in part the basis for measuring the success finally achieved." While the pupil is primarily interested in the end to be attained, the purpose makes available a stock of energy to pass through the necessary intermediate steps; it makes ready the required mental responses pertaining to the activity, and checks those which would tend to interfere with the successful consummation of the end. An illustration will probably clarify this process.

Suppose a group of children has a genuine, gripping purpose to present a short drama before the whole school. They see clearly the end to be attained; they come to see that in order to reach the end they must assign the various parts; those selected need to learn their parts; costumes need to be decided upon and prepared, rehearsals carried through, criticisms made as to strong and weak points of presentation, and finally arrangements made for the public presentation of the drama. Each of these elements presents problems and difficulties; they require thinking and the working out of a technique; but even though they mean hard work, they are entered into heartily by the children because of the attractiveness of the end. This "mind set" toward attaining the end makes ready all the pertinent mental (nervous) resources, which find satisfaction in acting vigorously, and would be in a state of annoyance if they were prevented from acting. That is to say, pupils in this frame of mind are ready of their own accord to put forth intensive, mental effort in order to learn their parts in the drama, just because they are vitally interested in the end-result. If methods are used in this learning which do not bring adequate results or if unsatisfactory methods are utilized, these tend to drop out, while the successful ones tend to be fastened in the nervous systems as new responses. These successful responses are well differentiated from the failures and through repeated use become fixed as an abiding acquisition. Again, such a "mind set" tends to make hindering or inapplicable mental responses unready to act, satisfyingness being found in their quiescence.[3]

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[2] For this analysis I am especially indebted to Professors Dewey and Kilpatrick.

Activities carried out as above fulfill the accepted laws of learning: (1) They take advantage of the fact that under certain conditions certain centers of the brain are alive, charged with energy, ready to act, and if given an opportunity they act with forcefulness. Such "readiness" is due to native instincts and capacities or to acquired interests and responses; (2) when such centers of the brain are ready to act and are permitted to do so, satisfyingness results; the mental connection is strengthened and it is desirous of acting again. If hindered from acting, annoyance results and also a weakening of the connections; (3) these mental connections become strong from repeated use when followed by satisfyingness and weak from disuse. Learning necessitates doing (self-effort) by the learner. The only way to learn to speak well is by speaking; to think well is by thinking, and the only way to present a good drama, is by practising until the required standards are achieved. "Practice makes perfect" and "We learn by doing" are popular sayings which contain the truth enunciated in this law, provided the practice is purposeful and intelligent.

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[3] "Psychology warrants the added statement that within reasonable limits the stronger the mind was set on the end and the greater the obstacles successfully overcome, the greater was the satisfaction of success and in consequence the more abiding the learning."—Kilpatrick, "What is the Education Process?" *Religious Education,* XVIII (Feb., 1923), 38-42.

Again, in an activity carried out by students because of a real, gripping purpose of their own, there are at least two types of learning; one, which might be called primary, has to do with the direct educational results obtained in carrying through the activity; the other, which is secondary, has to do with the attitudes or appreciations which are built up in the course of the experience. The first has been commented upon. The children preparing the drama were faced with problems, deficiencies in technique, etc., but the dynamic power of their purpose, along with the intelligent guidance of their teacher helped them to secure the knowledge, the skills, and the habits which these situations demanded. But this is not all. If the work for these primary results proceeds on a high level of interest pupils are almost unconsciously registering attitudes and appreciations—likes and dislikes toward people, objects, processes, and environment. In the case of the drama, the pupils may come to like certain kinds of literature or music or other artistic expression; they may form likes or dislikes for their fellow performers or for the teacher; they may learn to value criticism, public approval, social fellowship. In the same way they may develop creative or imaginative gifts in certain fields; initiative, self reliance, a sense of responsibility, a spirit of service, etc. Most of these moral qualities will be developed by such concomitant or by-product learning more effectively than they will by direct teaching, because the activity involves the actual use of such traits, not merely information about them.

Moreover, as pupils engage in interesting, purposeful activity, new "leads" or subsidiary interests develop, and they may decide to follow some of these or to make note of them and carry them out at a later time. For example, in the children's drama, discussions of the historical background may lead pupils to desire a more thorough study of this at another time; or the designing of the costumes or of the scenery may serve to develop an interest in some phase of art; or the drama itself may lead to a further study of the place that drama holds in the lives of nations, or perhaps to a desire to write a play. Besides these large issues, there may be many smaller ones, such as the designing of costumes, stage settings, programs, and invitations. These constantly developing accessory purposes are what make life rich and full of interest and possibilities. Such virile interests with constantly expanding possibilities, along with the emphasis upon reconstructing one's own experiences toward higher and richer levels, tend to continuous readjustment of behavior and to that modifiability of response which is the essential element of an abundant, dynamic life.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

In this discussion much emphasis has been put upon *purpose-full* activity, and it has been stated repeatedly that we learn best through what we do. The best way to acquire any fact, attitude, habit, or skill is to make use of it in its natural setting.

Activities are sometimes thought of, however, as only those experiences which involve manual effort and constructive work. The content of the word is much broader than this. It involves any mode of realizing a whole-hearted purpose. Listening with appreciation and interest to a story or to a piece of music; thinking through a problem to secure a solution needed to achieve some end; practising with the object of reaching a desired skill, are all activities. Dr. Kilpatrick, in an address on "The Project Method," given before a Teachers' Conference at Columbia University, distinguishes four types of life experiences actuated by a dominating purpose, although these sometimes merge into one another or appear as subordinate purposes under any of the four types. "The first type represents those experiences in which the dominating purpose is to do, to make, to embody an idea or aspiration in material form." This type of activity includes things made from any type of material, and also literary, dramatic, artistic, and musical productions. The criterion of value is the character of the purpose which "fixes the aim of the activity, guides its process, and furnishes its drive, its inner motivation." The second type is defined as "one which involves purposeful enjoyment or appropriation of an experience." This includes those things which, through the various senses, bring pleasure to the individual. Such an activity when dominated by a purpose is not passive but involves the active appropriation of the experience in as many meanings as is possible to the agent. The third type is "one in which the dominating purpose is to solve a problem; to unravel some intellectual difficulty." The problem has its natural setting and origin in the pursuit of some end. It implies first a felt difficulty, a problem, and, second, a purpose to solve the problem. The fourth type includes experiences in which "the purpose is to acquire some item or degree of knowledge or skill; or, more generally, experiences in which a person purposes his own education at a specific point." The dominating purpose here is to learn to secure command of essential knowledge and skills so as more easily and effectively to reach desirable goals. Such a purpose results in learning which is both more efficient and more rapid, for it has behind it an inner urge to reach a self-imposed goal. Dr. Kilpatrick later divides these pupil activities into four somewhat more inclusive groups: (1) Producer's Projects, including all that pupils produce; (2) Consumer's Projects, or those things pupils use or enjoy; (3) Problem Projects involving the solving of difficulties and the overcoming of hindrances; and (4) Specific Learning Projects including the formation of skills and habits, memorizing, etc.[4] The relationship of this classification to the earlier one will doubtless be clear to the reader.

Collings[5] and Meriam[6] emphasize four types of purposeful activities: Story, Hand, Play, and Excursion, corresponding roughly to Communicative, Manipulative, Play, and Exploratory experiences. According to Dr. Kilpatrick's classification the Story and Play activities would belong to the second type of experience, (Consumer's) while the Hand activity would come under his first type (Producer's). The Exploratory activities would be one form of "Problem Projects." However, in the course of working out these activities, need would probably arise for the solving of other types of problems and for the building of habits and skills, i.e., "Specific Learning Projects."

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[4] *Foundations of Method*, pp. 347-48, 355.

[5] Collings, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum*, p. 48.

[6] Meriam, *Child Life and the Curriculum*, Chapters XIII-XVI.

EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURES

The educational procedures to be followed in working through these activities will differ to some extent with the type of material dealt with. However, the essential steps in many of them will involve the following: purposing of such a nature as will drive the pupil on to satisfactory accomplishments; the gathering of the information necessary to achieve the purposes; the organizing of this (along with pertinent past experience), through reflection, into a workable plan; the executing of this plan to secure the end desired; and lastly, judging the character of the result achieved and comparing it with the original purpose. In the case of the purposeful enjoyment of an experience (second type of activity) the method of procedure is not so clear and definite. Besides the element of purpose and that of judging the result, there would also seem to be some understanding, mental imagery, analysis of the experience, and comparison of it with other similar experiences. In the Problem Projects the steps involved would include: a felt difficulty and a purpose to solve it; the location and analysis of this difficulty; the securing of additional facts; a hypothesis (tentative plan of solution); suspended judgment; testing the result. In the Specific Learning Projects it would be best to follow a psychologist in the diagnosing of specific weaknesses and in the development of a plan to remedy them.

The initiating of the activities described, class discussion of them, and the method of carrying them through, contemplates considerable freedom for the pupil, so long as his conduct does not interfere with the welfare of the group. It also puts considerable responsibility upon him to initiate purposes, secure the necessary knowledge, and develop the plans necessary to complete them successfully. The question now arises as to the place and work of the teacher.

THE PLACE OF THE TEACHER

The place of the teacher in this plan is even more important than in the old one. It is he who must keep the purposes of the pupils on as high an educational level as possible. This may be done (1) by guiding the pupils to evaluate the various purposes suggested by the group; (2) by stimulating the putting forward of worthy purposes and by arranging the classroom environment so as to suggest them; (3) by bringing to the pupils' attention a long list of valuable activities and having them choose the ones they are most interested in; (4) by suggestions of activities to the group, in their discussion period, when pupils are endeavoring to determine what they should do next. The essential point is that the purpose chosen, from whatever source it may come, must be accepted wholeheartedly by the pupils and made their own. The teacher is also responsible for so directing the work, that pupils may be led out into wider interests and accomplishments and to a broader social outlook and larger co-operation. The important principle is such selection of the interests and activities of pupils as will minister best to their immediate and continuous growth and at the same time keep the general movement of their activities directed toward definitely conceived higher levels.[7]

Social and Moral Aspects

Something further needs to be added about the social and moral phases of this educational process. Sociologists are more and more emphasizing the influences of both the passive and the dynamic aspects of environment as an important explanation of racial traits and of the different stages of racial progress. Both of these aspects need to be emphasized in the classroom. The former should consist of such equipment and of such an atmosphere as will stimulate valuable social purposing and will make possible effective social organizations. This does not imply expensive classroom equipment, for some of the most valuable things for arousing pupils' interests are the ordinary things of the natural and acquired environment. Regarding the socially dynamic phase, the best results are likely to be secured if the group is organized on a democratic basis, with the teacher as a member of the group and each member of the group having definite responsibilities to contribute to its welfare and progress, all being guided as to conduct with reference to the well-being of the group. The sharing of social relationships and of the interaction of mind upon mind, with the gradual building up and use of standards and of widened contacts, offer larger possibilities for the development of moral character. The force of social approval and disapproval is very effective in the control of conduct, and under the guidance of the teacher pupils should gradually build up higher standards of conduct and social relationship. The responsible freedom enjoyed by the pupils; the stimulus to initiating worthy activities and methods; the encouragement given to originality; the feeling of responsibility for the ultimate success of the activity, depending largely upon one's self for securing the needed information; the thinking through of plans of procedure; the sticking to the activity until the desired end has been reached; the necessity of helping one another; the growing dynamic outlook upon life and the belief in progress—all are possibilities of great moral worth in this type of classroom organization and procedure. In and through it teachers should be "concerned that children get a goodly stock of ideas to serve as stimuli for conduct, that they develop good judgment for selecting the idea appropriate in a given case, and that they have firmly built such response bonds as will bring, as inevitably as possible, the appropriate conduct, once the proper idea has been chosen."[8] These ideas when joined with tendencies to put them into operation become ideals, and ideals, attitudes, and appreciations are definite goals to be sought as much as or more than, knowledge and skills.

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[7] F. G. Bonser, "The Fundamental Character of the Project Method," *Progressive Education*, July-Sept., 1924.

The outstanding emphasis in all this philosophy and method is the growth and development of children in and through a series of life activities purposed by them, guided to valuable educational levels, and carried through in a dynamic, uplifting social environment.

MODERN PRINCIPLES OF CURRICULUM-MAKING

One of the greatest fields of interest and research in education in recent years has been that of curriculum construction. Outstanding educationists in both Europe and America have written on the subject and have carried out investigations and experiments in order to determine more effective curricula. This increased interest has been aroused by a conviction that education based upon the prevailing curricula was not providing the essential and most valuable life experiences for children or furnishing the opportunity and stimulation for their fullest individual and social development. It has been felt that the average curriculum contains much that is merely academic and traditional—matter which does not function in the life either of the child or of the adult, and which leaves out much that is needed for the child's growth and welfare.

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[8] Kilpatrick, "The Project Method," *Teachers College Record,* XIX (Sept., 1918), 329.

In the past ten years an unusual number of curriculum studies have been made, and many books have been published on the principles, content, and objectives of curricula and on methods of constructing them. A study of the theories basic to curriculum construction was made some years ago by Professors Mossman and Hansen.[9] They stated the varying points of view concerning curricula as follows: The conservative position was represented by those who advocated that the curriculum should have as its objective the preparation of pupils for adult life. This was to be secured by training the mind through acquiring knowledges and abilities of increasing degrees of difficulty, with the social ideal of preparing pupils to fit into the existing social order. The subject matter was largely that approved by tradition, logically organized, with fixed-in-advance assignments. The method was either memorizing or securing verbal control of textbook material with the aim of disciplining and training the mind. The teacher was in authoritative control and believed that good discipline consisted in the suppression of such self expression of the pupils as did not fit in with the established and approved routine. From this position, up through five intermediate stages, the opposite viewpoint was reached. Its advocates believed in no organized, prepared curriculum, but only in the spontaneous interests and activities of the children, guided so as to bring about the best results from each activity. Emphasis was upon life, immediate, without reference to any further objectives, and only such subject matter was learned as was needed in furthering the prevailing activity. The social theory was that of *laissez faire*, based upon absolute respect for personality on a basis of individualism. The procedure was, of course, most flexible, as flexible as nature itself—almost incidental.

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[9] Lois Coffey Mossman, "An Analysis of Theories Basic to Curriculum Construction," *Teachers College Record*, XXVI (May, 1925), 734-39.

From the philosophy of education discussed in this chapter it is evident that neither of the above extreme positions is approved. The former is repressive, formal, and autocratic; while the latter may glorify children's whims and exalt inexperience and incidental procedure. The first gives the teacher entire control and undervalues the child, while the latter does just the reverse. In this chapter those principles of curriculum construction will be discussed which are advocated by those specialists who take an intermediate position in their theory of education. Their aim is that already expressed in this chapter. They believe that the most productive activity will be the natural outgrowth of children's interests, purposes, and experiences, but they also believe that this activity should be guided by those whose years of experience have given them better judgment and a truer sense of values than the children can possibly have, in order that the activity may be kept upon a high plane and may lead to the best educational results.

Four fundamental considerations for curriculum-making emerge from this educational philosophy. First, a series of carefully determined aims and objectives must be secured which will furnish guidance for the selection of pupil activities and for their development so as to bring about the desired changes in conduct, individual and social. Such objectives must be both general and specific, and should be secured from a careful study of the social and economic conditions of the environment and of wider social trends, from a study of personal characteristics and needs (especially children's), and from an analysis of educational principles and practices.

Second, the curriculum should be thought of as a series of experiences (activities) purposed and carried out by the pupils. These will be of two kinds: (1) suggestive activities which have been tested and found to be of value in achieving individual and social objectives. Such activities are not to be slavishly followed but are to be merely suggestive of what pupils are interested in and desire to do. They are not under any circumstances to be imposed upon pupils. If the teacher desires to use one of these activities, the classroom environment should be so arranged that the pupils' thought and interests will be turned in this direction and they be led to choose and to carry through the activity. It cannot be too emphatically stated that without real interest and purpose these activities are of little or no value. Whenever an activity is carried through by successive classes in just the same way and with the same outcomes, it is likely that the teacher has been too dominant, that the procedure has become mechanical and stereotyped and has lost its effectiveness for creative expression, growth and development. (2) Other activities should be a part of the curriculum which are the immediate, spontaneous, valuable interests of the pupils and which are the result of local experiences and conditions. These are not usually foreseen by the teacher because they arise from local interests from day to day. In a curriculum they can simply be referred to and suggestions made as to ways of stimulating them and of so guiding them as to secure the largest educational values.

Third, subject matter (racial experience), is not thought of as matter set out to be learned or memorized, but as ways of behaving. Accordingly, the curriculum should contain such subject matter as is required for adequate, satisfying behavior in the activity in which pupils are engaged. It should also not be confined to information, habits, and skills but should include attitudes, appreciations, and ideals. Desirable subject matter which is not likely to be needed in the activities outlined in the curriculum should be stated separately, so that teachers may know what other responses are desirable in children of a given age and may seek to bring about a need for some or all of this material.

Fourth, stimulation for valuable purposing and the successful executing of educative activities demand a classroom environment and social procedure which should be described in the curriculum. This will involve a statement of the materials and equipment likely to prove valuable and also of the best social organization of the classroom—its freedom, social interaction and sharing, intelligent guidance, and relation to the outside environment. Individual differences should also be cared for.

Each of these considerations, as well as the whole general method of curriculum construction, will now be discussed in greater detail, emphasizing especially what curriculum specialists advocate in each of these fields.

Professor Franklin Bobbitt emphasizes an analysis of human nature and of human affairs as a first step in curriculum construction. The curriculum maker must discover the total range of habits, skills, abilities, forms of thought, ambitions, etc., needed for the effective performance of private and social duties. Knowledge is not the fundamental thing aimed at but rather social attitudes and valuations.

In his curriculum work in Los Angeles, Dr. Bobbitt first determined without reference to subject-matter courses, a comprehensive list of human abilities and characteristics needed by men and women. From this comprehensive list were selected those which are most generally needed and which have to be developed through school education. These were evaluated and judged by a group of competent people. The principle was then applied that almost every objective of education can be stated as the ability to do something, whether subjective or objective. The final list of objectives was then classified under ten headings, having to do with the physical, mental, social, civic, economic, religious, and recreational phases of life.[10] The next step was to plan several types of pupil activities and experiences for each of the grades through which the chosen objectives could best be achieved. The function of subject matter in modern community life was clearly defined in terms of individual abilities to meet human needs. Differences in individual capacity were taken care of by a different set of minimum essentials for each ability class.

Dr. Bobbitt summarizes the steps in curriculum construction as follows: (1) determination of objectives; (2) formulation of guiding principles; (3) selection of pupil experiences; (4) selection of needed materials; (5) placing experiences in proper sequence as determined by maturity; (6) experimentation to test the placing of experiences; (7) welding the experiences found suitable for any particular year or term into a thoroughly correlated instruction; and (8) constant revision in the light of experience and experimentation.[11]

This procedure has in it many advantages. It keeps education closely related to life; it prepares pupils to adjust themselves to the adult environment; it provides definite goals to guide educational procedure; it aids in the checking up of method and textbook materials; and it assists in the choosing of valuable pupil activities. The greatest weakness is that it emphasizes preparation for future living and richer adult experiences. While education should be tested as to its contribution to future living, the more important thing is that the activities of pupils should be an outcome of their environmental interests and needs and should make for richer present living.

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[10] Franklin Bobbitt, *How to Make a Curriculum*, pp. 7-11.

[11] *Second Year Book, National Education Association* (*Department of Superintendence*), 1924.

Professor W. W. Charters emphasizes that the shift in the aim of education from the securing of mere information to that of the modifying of behavior carries with it a new theory of curriculum construction. This involves a closer relationship and interdependence between pupil activities and the objectives and ideals which it is hoped to build up from them. Hitherto, he says,

> While writers on the curriculum have begun with the statement of aim, none has been able to derive a curriculum logically from his statement of aim. In every case he has made an arbitrary mental leap from the *aim* to the *subject matter,* without providing us with adequate principles such as would bridge the gap—without presenting steps which irresistibly lead us from aim to selection of material.[12]

Dr. Charters believes that in order to determine properly the content of the curriculum, the aim of education must be stated in terms both of ideals and of activities—ideal objectives and activity objectives. Good citizenship as an objective is easily analyzed if we see that it means the ideals of the good citizen and the activities of the good citizen. These are determined by different methods. Three ways are suggested for determining ideals: (1) choosing ideals by consensus of opinion and then selecting activities with which to connect them; (2) listing activities and then determining which ideals are most efficient in carrying them out; and (3) preparing a comprehensive list of ideals and submitting these lists to a large number of teachers. Each teacher should then think of one pupil, checking the ideals which need to be stressed with him and so on for all pupils. Ideals would then be listed in importance according to their frequency. The curriculum exercises deliberate control over these ideals which it has chosen as its goals, by utilizing them as the criteria for selecting, rejecting, and evaluating curriculum items, and by making clear the specific function of every item in accomplishing these objectives.

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[12] *Curriculum Construction,* pp. 6-7.

A satisfactory curriculum should contain both project activities and subject matter. The acceptance of conduct rather than information as the end of education, however, necessitates a far wider use of the project method. As to children's normal activities, these are thought of as being influenced and guided by adult activities. The teacher should present adult activities to children at a psychological moment and in skillfully modified forms, so as to render them suitable to the learners' ideals, abilities, and activities. In thus touching a great range of adult activities, the normal activity of children is improved.

Dr. Charters advocates the following steps in planning a curriculum: (1) determine the ideals and activities which constitute the major objectives; (2) analyze these and continue the analysis until working units (within the comprehension and interests of children) are obtained; (3) arrange these units in order of importance; (4) raise to positions of high rank in these lists those ideals and activities which are of great value for children, even though low in value for adults; (5) determine the number of those important ideals and activities that can be mastered in the time allotted to the school, after eliminating those which can be learned better outside of school.

Professor F. G. Bonser emphasizes that the curriculum is vitally related, on the one hand, to the aims and activities of life and, on the other hand, to the nature and needs of children. As early as 1913 he emphasized these two basic principles in the *Speyer School Curriculum*:

> (*a*) The curriculum of the school should represent the needs and interests of present-day life in our own immediate environment and the world at large (the social factor). (*b*) The work at any given stage of the child's development should be that which is adapted to the immediate enrichment of his life, as measured by his individual needs and capacities (the psychological factor). In method of procedure, provision should be made for active participation in the processes of real life . . . and in content offered, the school should be really democratic; providing material and means for the development of all types of children.

In his book on *The Elementary School Curriculum* the same emphasis appears; and he says further that the educational value of any experience may be measured by its effect on conduct. He holds that the curriculum should be composed of three parts: suggestive projects; the subject matter necessary to carry out these projects; and a brief organized summary of the essential methods, skills, ideals, attitudes, and appreciations which should be developed in children.[13]

As to steps in making a curriculum, Dr. Bonser recommends: (1) Determining the objectives of life in terms of definite needs; (2) finding the forms of activity best adapted to meeting these needs; and (3) presenting these as experiences graded to the natural impulses and abilities of children and in an enlarged, enriched environment.

In an official report to the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, 1924, on the reorganization of the curriculum, Dr. Bonser advocated six essential elements in such a curriculum: (1) experiences through participating in which children will form habits, skills, attitudes, and methods of behavior making for efficiency in life itself; (2) the fullest possible use of questions, problems, and interests of the children themselves; (3) full use of race experience and subject matter needed to carry forward the activities; (4) mastery of the tool subjects as need for them becomes apparent; (5) such organization of work as will prevent duplication and will make for economy of effort; (6) flexibility to provide for individual differences of children and environment.

Professor J. L. Meriam advocates an analysis of child life and of present-day economic and social activities as bases for curriculum construction, with the aim of so developing the children that they may be able to carry on the latter successfully. He gives five principles for curriculum making: The curriculum (1) should aim to make for the children's present efficiency and only secondarily for their future efficiency; (2) should be selected from real life; (3) should be flexible enough to provide for individual differences; (4) should have an elastic organization so that shifts may be made from day to day and from grade to grade; (5) should lead children to appreciate both work and leisure.[14]

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[13] pp. 80, 86, 87, 150-54.

Dr. Meriam believes that the pupil's life in the school should be like, yet better than, the life of the children outside of the school, better because they are helped to know how to play and work correctly and to do it with other children.

Dr. Henry Harap, in his *Technique of Curriculum Making*, emphasizes the following steps: Defining the aim of education and determining the major goals and the subsidiary objectives. These should be secured from analyses of children's activities, project curricula, job analysis, social needs, and existing objectives. Following this comes grade placement of these objectives, then the needed activities and materials for the teaching units, and finally, care for individual differences and for completeness of learnings.

Dr. S. A. Courtis in discussing teaching through purposeful activity says:

> The ideal curriculum would consist (1) of a series of social projects in which there would be need for the use of fundamental skills in meaningful situations, (2) of a series of self-instructive, self-appraising practice exercises so closely correlated with project work that children could avail themselves of drill exercises as they became conscious of the need.[15]

Similar ideas are expressed by Mr. H. C. Pearson[16] and Dr. George A. Coe. Dr. W. H. Kilpatrick establishes the thesis that the educative process is good and sound, first, in the degree that learning is intrinsic; that is, is demanded now by life and functions now to further present life; and second, in the degree that what is learned serves to raise life continuously here and now, to higher and richer levels.[17]

As to the curriculum he states:

> The basis on which I would found the curriculum and curriculum making is growing, on the part of the child and of the teacher. I should

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[14] Meriam, *Child Life and the Curriculum*, pp. 137, ff.

[15] *Second Year Book, National Education Association* (Department of Superintendence), 1924, p. 210.

[16] *Horace Mann Course of Study.*

[17] "How Shall We Select the Subject Matter of the Elementary School Curriculum," *Journal of Educational Method*, Sept., 1924.

like to admit into the curriculum no deferred values, and to have subject matter viewed and valued primarily as a means for growing. . . . A suggestive list of traits found by competent judges to have been useful in the past for growing, primarily concerned with better ways of behaving and emphatically not to be 'taught' except in such manner and at such time as promise to meet the criterion laid down in the preceding paragraph. . . . A detailed description of typical activities that in the judgment of competent critics had under other conditions resulted in desired growing. . . . A list of many more activities that might be used, with appropriate reference materials in the way of books, pictures, etc. . . . Some typical results that have been achieved so presented as to afford a basis for testing progress, keeping always in mind that it is signs of future growth that most concern us.[18]

Dr. Kilpatrick emphasizes the principle that the school program should consist of socially conditioned activities, which are gripping, challenging and varied, yet not beyond attainment, carried on under the wise guidance of intelligent, informed teachers.

In a tentative statement (unpublished)[19] of the foundations of curriculum-making by a distinguished committee of the National Society for the Study of Education, the following considerations were considered as basic:

1. The curriculum should be conceived in terms of *a succession of experiences, projects, or enterprises having a maximum of life-likeness for the learner*. To the extent that these experiences, projects, or enterprises do not give adequate control of the tools of learning, provisions should be made for exercises designed primarily to provide in the most economical way for developing the necessary skills in these tools.

2. The curriculum should be selected and organized with a view to *giving the learner that development most helpful in meeting and controlling life situations*. To this end, the experiences

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[18] W. H. Kilpatrick, "Method and Curriculum," *Journal of Educational Method*, I (May, 1922), 373.

[19] The final published statement of this committee will be found on pages 11-28 of the *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part II, of the National Society for the Study of Education. This statement was a compromise or synthesis of the views of all the members of the committee and as such was not fully satisfactory to many of them. It is also not very consistent in some of the positions it advocates. The paragraphs dealing with the topics listed in the tentative statement are 5-8, 17, 26, 28, 31, 37, 38.

which in early childhood must be largely local and intimately related to immediately felt needs, will have, from year to year as the learner advances, an increasing proportion of values understood and accepted as valid by the learner but deferred in respect to their realization.

3. The method by which the learner works with these experiences, projects, enterprises, or drill exercises should be such as calls for *a maximum of self-direction,* of assumption of responsibility, and of the exercise of choice in terms of life value.

4. The committee feels that there is *no necessary conflict between proper child learning and adequate preparation for later living*. Each period in the growth from childhood to old age is to be considered equally as life. Each period should leave the individual best prepared to live the next period and through this to all the rest. The curriculum can best prepare for effective participation in adult life by providing a present life for the child, rich in experiences which increasingly identify him with values derived from the analysis of the aims and activities of life as a whole, inclusive of adult purposes and activities. Data from adult life go far to determine what is appropriate for education at each period of the child's development. The essential skills and much of factual knowledge of the curriculum can be discovered by analysis of people's activities, of what they are and do. The ends of education and the more fundamental insights, problems, and principles, however, will be discovered only by a study of expert thought and feeling.

5. It is of great moment that all our educational agencies be organized for the task of bringing children to *a sane understanding of contemporary life;* of its merits and deficiencies and to give them practice every day of their school careers in thinking about them; in developing attitudes of understanding and tolerance; in developing a desire for progress and improvement; and in perfecting habits of creative self-expression. The school must consider problems and issues of economic, political, and social life. Only through constant practice in thinking about these problems, in seeing their true values, can children grow in power to meet them.

6. In the organization of curriculum materials there must be *a new synthesis of values*. The materials of instruction should

be assembled from the starting point of the modes of living, of institutions, and of problems of contemporary life, irrespective of boundaries of existing school subjects.

7. *The ordinary school subject is increasingly considered unsatisfactory as the unit of curriculum construction,* for, as on the side of instruction we wish to make increasing use of pupil experience, so, on the side of organization we wish increasingly to stress function in the activity. Subject matter is considered as both subsequent and subordinate to some normal life activity or experience already under way. Subject matter is called for when and because this life activity has been balked for lack of a certain way of behaving, and its function is to aid in finding and acquiring the behavior which will enable the balked activity to proceed.

8. As to the organization of the curriculum, *the part which should be made in advance* includes: (*a*) statements of objectives; (*b*) a sequence of generic experiences shown by analysis to be reasonably uniform in value in achieving objectives; (*c*) subject matter found to be reasonably uniform as the best means of engaging in the generic experiences; and (*d*) statements of immediate outcomes or achievements to be derived from the experiences. These activities, desired outcomes, and materials should be so arranged as to give direction to the learning process. The pupil must regard the activity as his own, organize the materials, and think and work it through to a satisfactory conclusion, for only so does satisfactory learning take place. Part of the curriculum cannot be made in advance. This consists of the valuable interests and spontaneous natural activities of children.

9. In the selection and validation of the curriculum, *full use should be made of all the spontaneous interests of children* which are identified with the objectives of education. These spontaneous interests are starting points but unless an expressed interest is in something desirable or may be easily directed toward some activity that is desirable, it should be eliminated by disuse. To validate any experience for a given grade level, both interest and value in the control of behavior should be used as tests. The large aim is the need for a rich present life for the learner.

Dr. Bonser states the following specific curriculum objectives: health and sanitation; practical efficiency; citizenship; recreation.[20]

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones maintains that the whole curriculum should be dominated and humanized by a knowledge and a consciousness of community life and that classroom activities should be rated according to their contribution to citizenship and to the development of personality. In seeking to define the claims of the community, he draws upon observations of life in an African village and believes that what is fundamental to the simple, primitive life there, is basic to more highly organized and civilized societies. In the most highly developed city as in the most primitive village, he finds that there are four essentials or "universals" on which our education must be based. These are: (1) Health and Sanitation; (2) Appreciation and Use of Environment (both material and human); (3) The Household and the Home; and (4) Recreation and Culture, including Religion.[21] If education, however limited in apparent range, provides for these four assets, it is a success. Unless it provides them, however pretentious its display of knowledge and science, it has failed.

Dr. Bobbitt in his Los Angeles Course of Study arrived at the following objectives: (1) Development and maintenance of one's physical powers; (2) Development and maintenance of one's mental efficiency; (3) Social intercommunication (language); (4) Activities involved in one's general social relationships and behavior; (5) Parental activities and the maintenance of home life; (6) The activities of the efficient citizen; (7) The labors of one's calling and unspecialized practical labors; (8) Leisure occupations and recreations; and (9) Religious life and activities. These naturally group themselves into health, mental development, social life and activity, citizenship, practical or vocational skill, recreation, and religion.

The objectives as approved by the Committee on Rural Education of the American Country Life Association in a tentative report are these:[22] education for health; education for citizenship; education for leisure; education for personal and social dynamic attitudes and activities; education for life occupations.

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[20] *The Elementary School Curriculum,* pp. 12-13.

[21] *Four Essentials of Education,* pp. 19, ff.

[22] *Tenative Outline of An Adequate System of Rural Education,* Columbus, Ohio, 1924.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education appointed by the National Education Association gave as its opinion that the main objectives of education are: (1) Health; (2) Command of fundamental processes; (3) Worthy home membership; (4) Vocation; (5) Citizenship; (6) Worthy use of leisure; and (7) Ethical character.

A committee of a large religious organization, after some years spent in careful study and investigation, advocated the following ten objectives of education as the most vital ones:

> (1) Physical health and fitness; (2) Mental efficiency and soundness; (3) The ability and disposition to make all kinds of social contacts properly; (4) The power to maintain right economic or business relationships; (5) Vocational efficiency; (6) The disposition and ability through wholesome avocational pursuits to conserve leisure time, surplus energy, spare money and non-vocational talents; (7) The ability to maintain right family relationships; (8) The ability to carry one's share of the larger social and civic responsibilities; (9) The ability and passion to build a fraternal society on a world basis; (10) The active personal appropriation of God's grace and the maintenance of a living religious experience.

With regard to many of these objectives several principles must be kept in mind. One is that these objectives are not equal in value to children because of the immaturity of children, and that some objectives need more attention in school than others, the amount depending upon both personal and community factors. Also vocation considered as a preparation for a definite occupation has no place in an elementary school. Pupils of this age are neither able physically nor are they mature enough to select and successfully master the skills requisite for trade work. The school, however, should bring pupils into understanding of various occupations and appreciation of what they contribute to community life.

These objectives also need to be analyzed into their component elements and definite goals of achievement in each of them set up for each grade or group.

As regards the differentiation between rural and urban curricula, the goals of elementary education should be the same for town and country; otherwise distinct social cleavages may be formed. So far as possible the same educational opportunities, breadth of vision, and culture, should be provided for rural people as for urban. Anything different from this is undemocratic. However, the organization of the content of elementary education and especially the method used in presenting this, will differ in city and country owing to the differences in the environments and the different experience content which the two groups of pupils have on entering school. The present different attitudes and ideals of the two groups necessitate adaptations regarding projects and their development.

Moreover, in most rural schools a teacher has more than one class, sometimes three or four, under his guidance and the organization of the curriculum must be such as to provide for this administrative situation. In most cases the pupils of rural schools have been organized into groups, either according to age, interests, capacities, or merely by combining two adjacent grades. The curriculum should, accordingly, be organized for such rural schools by groups rather than by grades.

Finally, the curriculum should be a growing one, developed and formulated by all those who are directly concerned with it. It should be a co-operative procedure. The pupils, the teachers, the supervisors, the administrators, and the specialists in curriculum construction all have important contributions to make from their educational experience. The curriculum should be revised as classroom experience indicates changes which should be made; or other more desirable activities which should be added; or closer and more effective adjustments to the environment which should be brought about; or new discoveries of better educational methods which should be used. In fact, the curriculum which is regarded as thoroughly satisfactory and complete is the one which is most likely to become outworn and unadaptable. Only as an experimental attitude is maintained and as the pupil's present life and development, his fuller adjustment to, and improvement of, the environment are kept as paramount aims, will the curriculum continue to be dynamic, flexible, and socially useful.

General Summary

A careful study of this chapter will reveal that the principles of curriculum construction advocated by the specialists quoted, are almost entirely in harmony with the philosophy of education and the educational ideals outlined in the first part of this chapter; also that they support and justify the general standard for judging educational values which was assumed in Chapter I, i.e., all that makes for the development of each individual in personal and socially beneficial ways is of educational worth, so that the judgment made upon education in India, both present and past, was made upon a basis approved by many of the most eminent educational thinkers.

Moreover, it has been shown in this chapter that the central educational aim, growth directed toward social objectives, is in accord with modern educational psychology; that it fulfils the demands of a dynamic sociology; and that it is the central theme, the scarlet thread which runs through educational philosophy. It provides for the fullest development of each individual, yet always in such a way as to bring about social improvement and progress. It makes very clear that self and society are vitally interrelated; that one cannot develop without the other; and that the richest results are secured when there is large and effective interaction on high levels over wide areas.

It does not make either the mistake of going to the extremes of rabid individualism or that of subordinating and confining the individual to the dominant social order, but rather it strikes the mean which provides for leadership, democracy, and progress—the fullest development of each for the service of all. It also does not make the mistake of merely hoping that present education will prepare for such development, but it so organizes its curriculum and classroom procedure that these are lived out in the classroom from day to day. It maintains that only as children live abundantly and are socially helpful from day to day, will they be most likely to do so in the future.

If society expects pupils to reveal initiative, purposefulness, reflection, co-operation, social responsibility, high ideals, and progressiveness later in life, the one certain way of achieving this, is to see that these qualities are exercised and developed each day in the classroom. With such conditions prevailing, we have substantial grounds for expecting the gradual development of attractive, capable, socially minded personalities whose vision, purpose, and effort will mean a better social order.

This is what is needed in India and especially in the villages. A mere command of the tools of literacy will not change the attitudes, appreciations, and ideals of the people. It will not bring about better economic, social, and health conditions. It will not unite village people with urban people. It will not lead to a united India. Only as village education results in changed attitudes, larger outlook, constructive social purposes and the knowledge and ability to carry these out, will a more satisfying form of village life and a better village environment be brought about.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

In a study of this scope it has been necessary to deal with a number of diverse, though related, fields of study and inquiry. In Part I a review of education in India and the Punjab was given in order that past experience might be available for curriculum construction. In Part II an account of present-day educational practices was presented for the same purpose. In Part III a social study of the Punjab was made in order that environmental elements might be available for curriculum construction, and in Part IV modern social and educational ideals and tendencies were outlined in order that the wealth of world experience and world thought might be brought to bear upon India's educational future.

In this concluding chapter an attempt will be made to synthesize the material presented in previous chapters and to focus it upon the specific problem of curriculum construction for India. For ease of reference an outline form will be used, with cross-references to sections of the book in which the topics mentioned are more fully discussed.

Weaknesses of Present-day Education in India[1]

The weaknesses of education in India will be grouped under three heads: those revealed by a study of educational history and present practice; those revealed by a study of environment; and those revealed by a study of modern educational theory.

I

Revealed by a Study of Educational History and Present Practice[2]

1. The taking over from other countries and other times of systems of education which have proved satisfactory in their

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[1] Suggested remedies for these weaknesses will be found on pp. 8, 14, 30, 42, 54.

[2] See Parts I and II.

own times and places, but which are not adapted to the India of the present, such as English education and forest asrams.

2. The domination of elementary education by higher education, to such an extent, that, beginning with higher institutions of learning based on foreign models, lower schools have been regarded chiefly as tributary to the higher schools and their curricula determined accordingly. This has resulted in developing a relatively small group of educated people who are more or less denationalized and are therefore out of sympathy with native ideals and needs.

3. The exalting of administrative efficiency and standardization at the expense of effective learning and pupil development.

4. The lack of a definite policy of expansion and growth, so that the course of study has resulted from the exigencies of the occasion; subjects have been added when there was a demand for them or eliminated when the course became too heavy.

5. The attempted simplification of elementary education by confining the work to the three R's and to informational reading, which has not really simplified education for the child.

6. The over-emphasis upon outward trappings and the mere machinery of education—such as standardized equipment, set examinations, degrees, etc.

7. The narrowness and specialization of the curriculum, which has aimed to prepare pupils for government service, clerical work, or the demands of higher education.

8. The dual attitudes leading toward the disorganizing and disintegrating of personality which have resulted from divided aims—Eastern and Western systems of education carried on side by side without co-ordination; literary and vocational aspects of education separated; etc.

II

Revealed by a Study of Environment[3]

9. The development of the elementary course of study entirely apart from out-of-school experience, so that pupils often do not know what the subject matter is for or how and when to use it; the emphasis upon formal subject matter and a text-

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[3] See Part III.

book to the neglect of the life situations in the pupils' and community's daily experiences and needs.

10. The insufficient attention to racial culture and aspirations, to colloquial languages, traditions, and community experience—a neglect which has hindered creative thought and expression and has prevented wide enrichment of Indian life.

11. The insufficient attention to the large social and scientific developments which have brought world-wide changes and have affected, and will increasingly affect, the whole texture of Indian life.

12. The restricting of educational opportunity on account of sex, caste, religion, economic status, domicile (rural or urban), etc., which perpetuates social cleavages, in the home, the community, and the nation, and hinders the social, civic, and political progress of the country.

13. The neglect of such phases of education as will bring health and happiness to the communities from which the children come and to which they should return fully equipped for civic, social, and economic service.

III

Revealed by a Study of Modern Educational Theory

14. The persistence of lifeless uniformity and conformity and the lack of investigation and experimentation, resulting from a negative, unprogressive attitude.

15. The strict, mechanical, rigid type of classroom discipline, which has encouraged the domination of the teacher and has repressed the individuality of the pupil.

16. The neglect of the social aspects of the classroom and of the larger environment.

17. The neglect of the valuable suggestions and purposes of the pupils themselves.

18. The use of repetition, drill, and memorizing as methods of learning, to the neglect of the more important aims of learning effective techniques in life situations, developing socially valuable habits and ideals and of stimulating creative expression.

19. The use of the analytical method of learning—beginning with the simplest forms and proceeding to the more complex,

instead of beginning with that which is familiar to the child even though it be complex.

20. The lack of character development due to the emphasis upon subject-matter courses, formal methods, rigid discipline, etc.

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

The following basic principles for curriculum construction embody the conclusions deduced from a careful study of India's educational history, of environmental elements in the Punjab, and of modern educational ideals:

I

Initial Considerations

1. The pupil should be kept central in the curriculum and in the educative process. His interests, experiences, and needs should be evaluated and the most worthy of these so utilized and guided in the classroom as to secure his best development toward social ends. Both in making the curriculum and in the way it is utilized in the classroom situation, the child and his fullest expression and progress should be the supreme consideration.

2. It is believed that the fullest and best development of the pupil will be brought about when he works reasonably near the limits of his resources at valuable activities which are of real interest and worth to him, especially when these are carried to completion in their natural setting under intelligent, sympathetic, adult guidance, in a stimulating social environment. Such activities may be those of either the individual or the group, but in either case the pupil should have definite responsibility both for the procedure and for the results.

3. The curriculum should take the child's out-of-school play and work interests and experiences and should supplement, extend, elevate, and guide these to secure the best educational results. All that is undertaken in school should have definite relation to the life of the pupil and the community. The pupils' lives and experiences should be raised progressively to higher levels, but the tap-roots should be back in their previous experiences and relationships. There can be no sudden jump from one level

of experience to another but only gradual progression, with plenty of inter-associations with all that has gone before. This is true "simplification of the learning process."

4. Learning should be thought of as new ways of behaving—as changes in conduct and in ways of responding. Learning is not the mere storing up of information to be released upon demand, but it is the actual reorganization of experiences to secure more satisfying and effective types of response. The position is definitely taken that the only way to learn to be healthy is not merely to increase one's information about health but to live in a healthy way. Not only the information but the utilization of it in natural situations is necessary to fulfill the learning process. This is equally true of the larger aspects of education such as democracy and social service, and of the practical skills like handwriting and arithmetic.

5. Education is not merely the preparation for a distant future nor is it merely emphasis upon the past; it is rather the guiding of the pupil into richer and more effective living here and now. It is believed that the best preparation for the future lies in the most effective living at each stage of life, when this is vitally related to, and organized with, what has gone before.

6. The curriculum should be dynamic, flexible, adjusting itself to pupils' needs from day to day and from grade to grade. This will involve constant observation of all the elements that enter into curriculum construction.[4] As changes occur, the curriculum should be revised to keep it in harmony with changing social conditions and with the developments of educational philosophy, psychology, and method. This puts considerable responsibility on the teacher, because it involves frequent checking up of the value of the present curriculum and frequent evaluating of all the new possibilities suggested from many different sources.

7. The curriculum, though of fundamental importance, should be thought of as only one part of the total educative process, and it should be of such a character as will help all the other factors to do their best work. This will mean utilization of all means of improving and extending the work of the school

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[4] See below.

through efforts of pupils, teachers, and parents, and also through such administrative aids as diagnostic tests, supervision, etc.

II

Aims

8. The aims, objectives, and ideal goals of the curriculum may be determined: (*a*) by a personal analysis of the life and attitudes of the pupils; (*b*) by a social survey of the benefits and lacks of the environment; (*c*) by an analysis of the favorable and unfavorable influences and movements in national and international life; (*d*) by determining what are the desired results of classroom activities; (*e*) by accepting those aims which have been shown to be of real educational value in other times and places; (*f*) by including those phases of knowledge, techniques, habits, attitudes, appreciations, and ideals which will enable pupils to fit into and improve their environments.

9. These aims should be stated not only for the specific outcomes of knowledge but also for desired changes in behavior, habits, attitudes, appreciations, and ideals. There should be recognition, too, of the need for open-mindedness and critical-mindedness, for a broad, progressive, democratic outlook; for tolerant, unselfish attitudes, and for enriched appreciations. These are necessary if India is to keep abreast of a rapidly moving civilization and to make the contributions of which she is capable.

10. On the basis of approved criteria, aims should be arranged in the order of their relative importance and analyzed and classified according to the possibilities of their accomplishment by different age groups.

11. The ultimate aims and ideals for the elementary school curriculum should be general—the same for boys and girls and for people of differing social status and locality. There should be at least a common level of educative experience which will prepare all people for intelligent social and civic responsibility and for the nobler satisfactions of life. This does not lessen the need of caring for individual differences of pupils with reference to their capacities, dispositions, needs, and experience backgrounds.

III

Activities

12. Activities may come from at least six different sources: (*a*) the spontaneous interests and activities of the children arising from their school life or from their out-of-school life; (*b*) those arising from an analysis of the life and needs of the pupils; (*c*) those arising from a study of the community; (*d*) those arising from observation of and contact with nature; (*e*) those arising from wider social contacts and relationships; (*f*) those which have been proved of value in other places and school systems. All these activities should be evaluated and classified for pupils of different ages. Many more activities should be available than the pupils of any given grade can undertake, so that there may be opportunity for them to choose those of most interest and value.

13. Purposeful activities are emphasized as the fundamental units in the successful attaining of objectives; purpose provides the readiness and the "drive" to carry forward useful work. It defines the end to be attained; it guides and directs the process; and it brings about degrees of satisfaction as the various subsidiary objectives are successfully accomplished. Interest, wholehearted, purposeful activity, satisfaction, and the desire to continue related phases of the activity fulfill the essential conditions of effective learning. The teacher should see the special educative possibility of each activity, but to the child it is largely interesting and enjoyable living. The activity side, manual, mental, social, is emphasized because one learns best through motivated self-effort and through actual participation with others in accomplishing valuable ends.

14. In terms of environment, classroom activities might include those related to the home and its associations; to the outstanding needs of life—food, clothing, shelter, utensils, tools, machines, records, social, civic, and religious needs; to play and various other forms of recreation; to health, hygiene, and sanitation; to the farm and to various other occupations; to the village—its life, work, and relationships; to the various social and civic institutions; to scientific progress and invention; to nature, beauty, and the aesthetic side of life; and to the wider

social, economic, and cultural relationships of the nation and the world. Full consideration should also be given to the shortages in environmental attitudes, such as negative views of life, lack of initiative and progressive effort, mechanical fatalism, over-emphasis upon the past, passivity, conservatism, etc.

15. In terms of types, these activities will involve constructive or creative work; investigative, observational, and problem activities; games, stories, music, literature and dramatic art; other recreational activities; social organizations and extracurricular activities; and lastly, activities for developing skills, habits, and time-saving operations which are found to be necessary to attain desired ends.

16. In terms of procedure, these activities will involve the utilizing of the children's valuable experiences and suggestions and supplementing these by additional information gained through guiding their inquiries, investigations, discussions, observations, and reading; also guiding the children to discover relationships and to organize facts, to think through an effective plan to co-operate in carrying it out, and to evaluate results.

17. Specific activities should be chosen from among those listed, which will advance any one desired aim. In addition to these activities, chosen in advance, there will be spontaneous activities (and objectives) arising from the unforseen interesting happenings in the environment, which will also contribute to the desired objectives. These spontaneous activities, from their very nature, cannot be determined in advance, but time and space must be left for them in the school curriculum, and for this reason the curriculum is never completed but is always in process of formation and adjustment. Both teachers and pupils, therefore, have the opportunity and the responsibility for continuously improving and extending both the activities and their aims, and in this very process lie large possibilities of growth for both pupils and teachers.

IV

Classroom Environment and Procedure

18. The atmosphere, environment and procedure of the classroom should be such as to encourage pupils to put forward

their interest, purposes, and problems; to initiate and carry out original creative activities as nearly as possible in their natural social settings; to bring into the classroom the results of their observations and investigations of various types of environmental life and activities and to evaluate them, the most valuable being carried to completion in their natural relationship to life outside and in such a way as to enrich environmental usage.

19. The classroom environment should be free enough to stimulate pupils to formulate classroom standards and rules of conduct. Pupils should have responsibility for the observance of such rules and for adjusting breaches of discipline. There should be responsible freedom, self control, group responsibility, wider sympathies, and social service toward environmental improvement.

20. The teacher should ever be on the alert to sense educational and character-forming opportunities in this social procedure and to use it to the best possible advantage. The teacher's place in such a classroom is one that involves an ability to make himself a real member of the group, not dominating it but so guiding it as to utilize and enrich the best interests, experiences and capacities of its members and to release these in socially beneficial ways, at the same time stimulating the pupils to improve what has been poorly done, to feel real satisfaction in their worthy accomplishments, and to see new interests and "leads" in the activity just completed.

21. The teacher should also realize that pupils seldom learn merely one thing in a given learning procedure. Knowledge of some sort may be the teacher's aim but in the process of securing it, the pupils are probably registering their attitudes for or against that subject or that teacher or the using of their time for that purpose. They may gradually be building up an antagonistic set against books or against going to school, or against a particular subject of study. Moreover, their attention may be divided, or fixed upon other things, and this often involves undesirable learnings and the building up of bad habits such as deception, dawdling, etc. In every activity or experience some such additional learnings are going on, and out of these, to a considerable extent, come the attitudes toward, and the choices of, life. However, if the activities are vitally interesting, as described in preceding paragraphs, all this incidental learning

will be of inestimable value in building up such traits as initiative, concentration, self-reliance, social responsibility, etc.

22. From this the teacher will see that character development is most effectively secured in the natural need and utilization of attitudes, appreciations, moral traits, and ideals, in use, as described above. However, to secure these character results, effective teacher guidance is necessary throughout the school life so that religious and moral guidance and inspiration will be available as the situations arise which require them. Direct moral and religious instruction have their place, but they will be most valuable in the influencing of conduct if they are utilized and learned in the actual life experience demanding their application.

V

Subject Matter and the Testing of Learning Outcomes

23. Subject matter in this type of curriculum is thought of as vital experience definitely needed in order to carry forward and enrich the activity in which the pupil is engaged. As the pupil undertakes an activity, he tends to recall the ways in which he has responded to similar situations before. If these are found to be inadequate, he must secure further knowledge and more effective plans. When such further subject matter is actually needed, the pupil is ready to put forth every effort to secure and master it. Moreover, he appreciates the enlarging and enriching of his activity through additional subject-matter materials, if these add to his sense of satisfyingness. If the activity demands a certain degree of skill in the subject-matter tools (the three R's, etc.), the pupil is usually willing to practice these when he sees clearly just what they are for and realizes the time and annoyance they will save him. Drill and practice under these conditions are not distasteful but bring satisfaction because they help the pupil to carry out activities in which he is deeply interested. It is for this reason that a curriculum should contain sets of carefully graded diagnostic "practice exercises," to be used when pupils recognize the need for them. It should also be rich in reference materials, so that pupils can find pertinent information needed to carry out their purposes and to provide material for thinking.

24. While the best of the world's culture should be available to anyone who can profit from it, education, for psychological reasons should be rooted not only in the pupil's experience, but in his racial culture. It should be indigenous, not foreign; it should utilize Indian folk-lore customs, and environmental conditions; it should deal with local and national institutions, and from these may proceed to more cosmopolitan conceptions. The best Indian and Oriental culture may then be co-ordinated with the best of Western culture. Such a union will enrich social life and improve the relations between East and West.

25. The checking of learning outcomes by means of tests, measurements, examinations, etc., should be educative in character, not only revealing the pupils' weaknesses but analyzing the causes of these and following them up with the necessary remedial measures. Pupils should have the opportunity to measure their own progress and should be guided in the kind of practice required to meet their needs. Individual differences should ever be kept in mind and both the ultimate requirements and the methods of securing them varied accordingly. Also, the measurements and checks made should not merely be concerned with the testing of subject-matter information and skills, but should analyze other learning outcomes as well, such as attitudes, appreciations, etc. Moreover, these testings should not dominate the educational process, but should be used merely as a means of checking up and diagnosing results.

Suggestions for a Graded Method of Procedure

It is recognized that not all of these suggestions can be carried out at once in the elementary schools of India, nor would it be wise to make such drastic alterations immediately, even though it could be done. One must begin where things are; but as rapidly as possible the present hindering conditions, such as type of teacher and teacher-training, fixed code, fixed examination requirements, finance, existing textbooks, etc., should be modified, so that they will in time assist rather than retard the securing of the valuable educational goals of the curriculum. What is needed is gradual adjustment so that pupils, teachers, headmasters, and parents may see the greater values of such education, may understand something of its underlying principles, and may realize their privileges and responsibilities in carrying it out in the classroom.

It would obviously be fatal for schools to shift immediately from repressive, autocratic discipline to democratic freedom and self-expression of pupils; from a rigorously outlined classroom procedure to one of purposed activities; from a strongly individualized organization to a freely functioning social group. There should also be time and opportunity for teachers to be educated up to their new functions and to understand the educational philosophy which lies behind them. This does not mean, however, that nothing can be done at once; it means rather that a carefully thought out program or policy must be gradually evolved in consultation with teachers, that the whole program be divided into sections to be adopted in the order in which they can probably be best introduced. In such a procedure—carefully thinking through the whole plan and each separate part; doing this with the teachers and carefully preparing them for the work they are to do; supervising the undertaking and checking up the outcomes; proceeding only at a rate justified by the results—surely there is no cause for alarm or any possibility of danger to learning outcomes, but rather every possibility for improvement and educational progress.

The following are definite suggestions for the gradual introduction of a curriculum made in accordance with the principles outlined above:

1. An easy way of beginning is to set apart one class period, or about an hour each day, as a "free period" in which pupils may put forward the ways in which they should most like to spend their time. Let reasons be given for the value of the suggested activities, and then let the pupils choose which one of the group-approved activities they would like to undertake during that hour. Special emphasis should be placed upon creative work and individual expression. Teacher and pupils might set up standards of conduct to govern this period, and special guidance and training should be given in so conducting oneself and his work as not to interfere with any of the other children. Various experiences should also be shared with the whole group. Later, as pupils gain in self-control and social adjustment, more freedom might be given to work on individual interests and activities.

2. Another possibility would be to select one of the most valuable of the pupils' out-of-school activities or a project of vital interest to them, regarding which the teacher has considerable knowledge and experience. The preparation for this project should be very carefully made, the teacher arranging his classroom environment, planning his procedure, and guiding the pupils' preparation, discussion, and work, so that much of interest and educational value may be accomplished. Pupils will thus learn to talk, plan, and work together, and to bring social pressure to bear upon those who are not inclined to respect the rights of others. The teacher should arrange also that such satisfaction will accompany and follow each phase of the activity that the pupils will strongly desire to continue it or to undertake a related activity, and will be eager to give more of their time to this kind of work and play. As to the time to be devoted to this activity-education, the free period, along with that school period whose subject matter is most needed for the project, might be utilized. As the pupils develop capacity to use this amount of time profitably, it should be increased gradually until all of the school time is so utilized.

3. Another way of beginning would be to work out on a project basis the preparations which are made in some form in many schools for the observance of holidays: symbolizing the change and characteristics of the seasons of the year; making plans for chapel periods, class worship, entertainments, school exhibits; getting ready for important school visitors; working out dramas, musicals, etc.; working in school gardens and in manual training; and participating in extra-curricular activities. These things should be carefully planned by pupils and teacher, and so carried out and supervised as to secure the maximum learning outcomes and so to be a real preparation for more extensive activity education.

4. Pupils might be stimulated and guided in carrying out the interests, activities, and duties of their homes on a higher educative and social level. The various types of constructive exploratory and recreational work and play in which most children engage might be used. Also home duties and chores, home gardens, the care of pets and other animals, various hobbies, might be included. These should be proposed in school, discussed

and planned in the best way, records kept of the results secured, and the whole experience shared with one's classmates.

5. A list might be made of all the activities which might be of interest and value to pupils in the subject-matter field best known to the teacher, where his possibilities of success will probably be the greatest. The pupils, after consideration, would then select from this list, the activity which appeals most to them, and, in co-operation with the teacher, would discuss it, secure the information needed and make the necessary plans to carry it to completion. After a number of such activities have been carried out, an attempt might be made at permitting pupils to divide into groups, so that each of the various groups might undertake the project which appealed most to them. Later, activities could be developed in the other subject-matter fields in similar ways.

6. A further beginning stage would be to work out carefully the detailed objectives of a given school subject through a social survey and analysis: a study of the interests and needs of pupils; the accumulated experience of teachers; the possible goals to be reached through the chosen schoolroom activities; and the findings of specialists in this subject of study. These objectives should then be arranged in their order of importance; subdivided into objectives for knowledge, habits, attitudes, and appreciations and then graded for use in the various school grades. Educative activities of real interest, usableness, and need to pupils should then be collected. These could be secured through the observation of pupil's interests and their spontaneous purposes; through a survey of the things which interest them within and outside of the school; through discovering what things the community expects pupils to know and to do and also those that are required by the wider environment; through activities in this subject which other teachers and schools have found to be worth while; and lastly, through attempting to state as activities, essential knowledges, attitudes, and other desired outcomes of the chosen subject of study. This plan has the advantage of utilizing a modified form of an activity curriculum without seriously changing the subject of study organization. However, it has the decided disadvantage of confining the activity largely to one subject-matter field, and this is very different from ordinary life activities, which usually cut across and ignore subject-matter divisions.

7. Much more rapid introduction of an activity curriculum can be secured where the teachers meet regularly with someone who is well versed in this more modern philosophy of education and work out in detail valuable classroom activities and the best methods of carrying them out in the school. Also where the teachers have the benefit of such a leader's supervision and demonstration, where the problems which arise in the classroom and the weaknesses in teaching procedure can be directly and definitely analyzed and solutions worked out, rather rapid shifts can be made from the old to the new procedure until all the school work is on an activity basis. Even then this meeting of the teachers and the mutual sharing of their experiences and techniques should be continued. These teachers should also keep careful records of the learning outcomes of the various activities and at least every month these should be checked against the requirements of the syllabus for that month. Where less has been accomplished by the pupils than was required, some special attention should be given in the succeeding month to those activities which provide the necessary practice, so as to make up the revealed shortages. Also, at the end of the school year each teacher should pass on to the teacher of the next grade a full statement of what has been accomplished of the required objectives and content. In this way the purposefulness of the activities is maintained and yet adequate provision is made for safeguarding the accomplishment of the required goals and objectives by a given grade.

8. In the case of experimental schools having capable leadership and a well prepared staff, these suggestions and recommendations can be tried out more rapidly, new activities steadily introduced, and the results measured. After considerable valuable experience and data have been so obtained and these carefully tested and found worthy, the activities and the method can be passed on to other schools, with confidence and certainty. In this way, through the experience of many teachers in many schools, some very valuable activities and methods of procedure can gradually be built up.[4]

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[4] Such help can be secured from *The Village Teachers' Journal*, Moga; *Methodist (Christian) Education;* various conference reports (National Christian Council) and material and descriptions secured from the out-

CONCLUSION

Teachers and schools should not be satisfied with degrees of success in these "introductory" phases of project work. As rapidly as possible they should move forward to more extensive purposed activities, to a more developed activity curriculum, and to better equipped teachers and supervisors, capable of securing the largest educative outcomes from this work. Small beginnings and graded procedures are necessary, but each of these should be used only so long as they are essential to getting on to the next higher stage.

Dr. F. G. Bonser emphasizes this same point of view:

> The curriculum must grow as a really living thing and the teachers must grow with it, if it is to be effective. Since the ultimate source of the projects is in the children and the social life of which they are a part, the teachers cannot impose any hastily constructed curriculum, without destroying the very spirit and means of growth, which a revision is designed to promote.[5]

In all this, the emphasis is upon starting gradually from the school situation where one finds himself; upon courageous experimentation; upon a desire for improvement, yet moving only as rapidly as results seem to justify; and upon the growth and development of the teachers in harmony with the changes and developments in the curriculum. The important things to ascertain are that one's goals and one's directions are right; that adequate preparation for each step has been made; that the pupils are manifesting initiative, creative expression, and cooperative social action; that the outcomes are carefully tested from stage to stage and vitally related to life; and that one persists in moving forward regardless of the difficulties which are certain to be met in every school system and which must ultimately be overcome. With such a spirit, such tested procedures, such sharing of experiences, such continuous growth of pupils and teachers, and such gradual and carefully planned introduction of new techniques, under supervision, there is much reason for hoping that a more effective elementary curriculum and education may be successfully developed in India.

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standing schools described in this study. Suggested projects can be secured from these sources and also from the books listed in the Bibliography.

[5] *The Elementary School Curriculum,* p. 427.

APPENDIX

I. FAMILY BUDGETS

1. Annual Family Budget of a Jat Family (three adults, two children)[1]

(Owns fourteen acres of cultivable land)

Income		*Rupees*
Grain crops		
wheat, 58 maunds[2]	Rs. 290	
maize, 19 maunds	Rs. 76	
gram, 10 maunds	Rs. 50	
		416
Gur (crude, raw sugar), 32 maunds @	Rs. 8	256
Cotton, 5 maunds @	Rs. 13	65
Dal (lentils), 20 seers		5
Fruit sold		8
Other sources		25
Total		Rs. 775
Expenditures		
Payments to laborers	Rs. 52	
Land revenue, local cesses and malba	Rs. 48	
Purchase of iron or implements	Rs. 8	
Purchase of cattle (non-recurring)	Rs. 80	
		188
Foodstuffs produced at home		
wheat, 46 maunds	Rs. 230	
other foods (gram, maize, gur, and dal)	Rs. 188	
		418
Clothing produced at home		80
Food purchased from the market		
sugar, tea, spices, tobacco		
vegetables (in exchange for grain)		21
Medicines		20
Repairing house and utensils		5
Education and books		12
Social expenses		
giving of neundas (gifts)	Rs. 40	
performance of funeral rites	Rs. 125	
		165
Litigation (including bribes)		15
Miscellaneous		20
Total		Rs. 944
Deficit for year		Rs. 169

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[1] Bhalla, *An Economic Survey of Bairampur*, p. 171.

[2] A maund is equal to 78 pounds, and a rupee is normally 33 cents.

Note. The above agrees with the Jat's statement that he had to borrow Rs. 160. In this budget Rs. 165 are devoted to the burden of social custom and Rs. 15 to litigation! The money spent for wheat is rather high and the diet is poorly balanced.

2. ANNUAL FAMILY BUDGET OF A WEAVER (MAN AND WIFE)[3]

Income	Rs.	A	P
Income from weaving	146	13	8
Income from other sources (fruit, field work)	17	9	2
Total	164	6	10
Expenditure			
Land revenue and Chaukidara (watchman)	7	5	4
Wheat and maize consumed (26 maunds)	105	2	0
Gur and sugar	7	11	5
Tobacco	4	4	6
Dal (pulse)	9	4	6
Mustard oil and spices	2	14	8
Cloth	18	9	1
Kerosene oil	2	4	7
Miscellaneous	12	4	7
Total	169	12	8
Deficit	5	5	10

Note. The standard of the weaver is much lower than the previous landowner, and yet he finds it difficult to make both ends meet. The only hope here is for an increase in earning capacity, for it is difficult to see how expenditures could be reduced. Nothing is included in this budget for implements, medicines, house furnishings, and the diet is simple and meagre. It should be noted how large a proportion of the income is used for food.

3. ANNUAL FAMILY BUDGET OF A CHAMAR (LABORER)[4] (ONE MAN, ONE WOMAN, AND FOUR CHILDREN)

Income	*Rupees*
Produced as a cultivator	18
Earned as a laborer	85
Earned as a reaper in Beas	30
Sale of ghi	50
Sale of a cow	30
Earnings of woman at odd jobs	4–8–0
Earnings of children picking cotton	2–0–0
Earnings from making rope	8–0–0
Total	227–8–0
Expenditures	
Wheat (24 maunds), maize, and rice (8)	180
Gur, 8 seers	2

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[3] Lucas, *The Economic Life of a Punjab Village*, pp. 112-13.

[4] Bhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

Dal (lentils)	3
Salt and spices	2
Tobacco	5
Medicines	2
Oil	3
Clothes	20
Miscellaneous	10
Total	227

Note. This budget indicates how difficult the economic struggle is. Man, woman, and children work, and yet they barely make ends meet. Food is very simple and poorly balanced. Probably some money could be saved by substituting cheaper grains for wheat.

II. INDEBTEDNESS IN THE PUNJAB[1]

The total debt of proprietors in the Punjab is about 55 crores (Rs. 550,000,000, or £36,666,667). Many believe that the actual figure is higher than this, as this figure is about twelve times the land revenue, whereas when figured on the basis of mortgage debt, the index works out as 15½. Since land revenue absorbs about one-fifth of the net income of the land, this means that the average proprietor's debt is equal to about three years of his *net* income.

In a study made by Darling in 1918 of 43,733 Punjabi proprietors, it was found that the average debt per indebted proprietor was Rs. 463. He also found that the larger proprietor is more highly indebted than the smaller, but the latter is more heavily involved. Only 17 per cent of the proprietors of the province are not in debt.

Debt is almost as widespread among tenants as among proprietors; but it is much lower in amount, averaging Rs. 150 per family. Since there are somewhat over a million tenants, farm servants, etc., dependent upon agriculture, it means an additional burden for the province of 15 crores (Rs. 150,000,000). This is about 3½ times the land revenue, giving a total agricultural debt of 15½ plus 3½, or 19 times the land revenue. This equals nearly 90 crores of rupees (£60,000,000). Per cultivated acre this amounts to Rs. 31, and to Rs. 76 per head, counting all those who are supported by agriculture. The annual interest charges on this debt amount to over 13 crores (£8,666,667) or nearly three times the total land revenue of the province.

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[1] For the following facts I am chiefly indebted to M. L. Darling's excellent book, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, pp. 9-15, 20, 21, 254, 279, and *passim*.

"Moreover, mainly owing to the inflated value of land and the consequent expansion of credit, this debt is much greater than it was 50 years ago and its rapid increase is depriving the cultivator of much of the benefit he might otherwise derive from the growing prosperity of the province." This debt is also widespread, for probably in no district are more than one-third of the cultivators free from debt and in some the percentage is less than 10 per cent. It also varies considerably in amount in the various districts. In the submontane area the total agricultural debt is 24 times the land revenue (Sialkot, 28; Ambala, 24; Hoshiarpur, 24; Gurdaspur, 20). In the Central Punjab it is 22 times the land revenue, but there are some districts having very heavy indebtedness, such as Amritsar, with a multiple of 30 times the land revenue, and Ferozepur, with 38. In the North Punjab the average multiple is 13 (Rawalpindi, 8; Jhelum, 13; Attock, 18), while in the Southern Punjab the total debt as a multiple of the land revenue is 15 (Gurgaon, 19; Rohtak, 17; Hissar, 15; Karnal, 11). In the Western Punjab the average multiple is 15 (Mianwali, 28; Muzaffargarh, 22; Dera Ismail Khan, 22; Multan, 8). In the Canal Colonies, the total debt is only twice the land revenue. An examination of these figures, together with a knowledge of the fertility of the soil and the amount of irrigation in these districts, shows that debt is allied to prosperity and to poverty alike, and that while its existence is due to poverty, its volume is due to prosperity.

III. SCHOOLS IN WHICH WORK SIMILAR TO THAT OF MOGA IS BEING CARRIED OUT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS[1]

PUNJAB.—In addition to the American Presbyterian Mission School at Moga, there is, in connection with the same Mission, the beginnings of a farm school for boys and girls at

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[1] From "Answers tendered on behalf of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon to the Questionnaire of the Royal Agricultural Commission on Village Education," by Miss E. A. Gordon and Messrs. Paton and Philip.—*National Christian Council Review*, February, 1927.

Shahdara (near Lahore). At Sangla Hill, Sialkot, and Pasrur, work of a similar nature is carried on by the American United Presbyterian Mission. [There is also the Methodist Community School at Raiwind.]

UNITED PROVINCES.—The Methodist Episcopal Church has begun such work at Ghaziabad, Lodhipur, and Muttra. At Moradabad the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is developing community middle schools of rural type. In the same province the Church Missionary Society is about to develop a rural community middle school on new lines.

CENTRAL PROVINCE.—At Dhamtari the American Mennonite Mission is beginning the training of rural teachers and devoting a missionary entirely to this work. The Canadian Mission at Kharwa, in Central India, is developing work along these lines.

BOMBAY.—In Gujerat the Methodist Episcopal Church at Nadiad and Godhra have training work and middle schools on the newer lines. The Irish Presbyterian Mission has a training school for women teachers at Ahmedabad, and one of the most notable pieces of work is that of Ankleswar, under the church of the Brethren. At Manmad the Church Missionary Society has established an important community middle school, with both agricultural and industrial sides. In Ahmednagar the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is doing progressive work in the training of girls, and in the same town a united teachers' training institute (begun by the American Marathi Mission and now supported by four other societies), is doing work of the highest value.

BENGAL.—At Bhimpore, under the auspices of the American Baptist Mission, most valuable experimental work has been done, to which special reference has been made in the report of the Director of Public Instruction. At Asansol and Pakur, under the Methodist Episcopal Church, schools along modern lines have been established; and in Darjeeling the Church of Scotland proposes to initiate work of this type. At Chapra plans have been formulated for developing a training school for teachers and a rural community middle school for Bengal, through the joint agency of the Church Missionary Society, which already has a middle school there, and the United Free

Church of Scotland [who now have a promising school at Kalna].

BIHAR AND ORISSA.—At Patna, Ranchi, and Hazaribagh, schools are experimenting with modern methods and good results are achieved.

MADRAS.—At Dornakal an important community middle school has been established under the Bishop. At Ongole, and in other parts of the Telugu country, the American Baptist Mission is undertaking rural education on modern lines. At Medak, in connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Hyderabad State; at Salem, in connection with the London Missionary Society; at Guntur, under the American Lutheran Mission; at Nandyal, under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the new ideas of rural education are being put into action; and at Vellore, where a training school for teachers, begun by the American Arcot Mission, is now supported by three other societies. The school is soon to be removed to a rural centre and developed on new lines.

BURMA.—Both the American Baptist Mission and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are renovating their work in the sphere of rural education along new lines.

"Moga has been inspiring not only missions, but also the Government Educational Department, to new ventures in rural education." In the *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the Year 1925-26*, we read:

> The Punjab is fortunate to possess a most admirable model in the school and training class maintained by the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga, which owes so much to Mr. W. J. McKee and to the present principal, the Rev. A. E. Harper. In the training class young Indian Christians are being trained not merely to be effective teachers, but also to be the mainstays of their community in its battle for progress. Two very important experiments have therefore been started at Gakhar and Gurgaon, very largely in imitation of Moga. The former used to be a training institution of the ordinary type, but its scope of activity has now been expanded very largely by practical training in those matters which should promote the well-being and progress of the Indian village. The School of Rural Economy, Gurgaon, is very similar in its scope, except that its pupils are teachers who have already received their training and have been especially selected for a further training in

community work. It is significant that the students at Gakhar showed the best results in their training examinations, and therefore go to prove that the fuller and wider training is not only good in itself but that it also improves the efficiency of the ordinary training for the teaching profession in a limited sense. Steps are now being taken to extend this form of training to all training institutions.—*National Christian Council Review*, April, 1927.

IV. BRIEF OUTLINE OF SUGGESTED PROJECT ACTIVITIES OF THE SECOND GRADE

This indicates what might be undertaken in a year in one of the Primary Grades. The pupils at Moga would be 8 or 9 years old. Due to the lack of space only a few of the first activities can be briefly described, the others merely being listed by title. In the same manner aims, objectives, outcomes, materials, content, and procedure should be stated for these activities, but these also, under present exigencies, must be omitted. (All of the above will be included, however, in a series of articles which are to be published soon in the *Village Teachers' Journal*, Moga.)

A. Central Project—Making a village garden or farm

I. *Pupils' interest and purpose aroused* by visiting a farm; discussing this work; playing farmer; what work does father do; hearing stories and finding pictures about farm work; free activity with implements, tools, seed, etc. When the pupils' interests have been aroused and they want to make a little farm of their own, the following problems (through the teacher's guidance) may arise (see also the investigative activities, p. 389):

1. *Laying out the garden.* Measuring the available land; checking the measurements. Drawing it on paper. How shall we divide it? Shall each pupil have a plot or several work together on one? Decision as to number of plots. Working out the dimensions of each plot. Checking these by plotting on the paper map. Also by measurement on the ground itself. (See activities Nos. 2, 3, and 4.) Marking in the various plots. Have we enough room left for irrigation channels? For places to walk across the plot? Redivision of the plot in the light of these necessary adjustments.

2. *Running a straight line.* How does the surveyor or patwari do this? Inquiry and observation. How can we do it?

Securing three straight sticks and sighting along them until they (placed at considerable distance from each other) are in a straight line. Checking this up with a string or rope. Why does this make a straight line?

3. *Making a Measuring Tape five feet long.* Examining such a tape. How is it divided? Yard, feet, inches, parts of an inch. Studying these relationships and learning them through use. What material is the tape made of? What type of material must be used? How are the markings made? How checked? How shall we make ours? Discussion and choosing of materials and methods. Arranging to make the tape. Using it to measure our plot. Making other necessary measurements.

Brief titles of other activities are:

4. Making a "Builder's Square" (Gunia).
5. Observing a farmer plowing a field and getting it ready for sowing.
6. Preparing our plot and seed bed.
7. Putting in our irrigation channels.
8. Keeping a record of our work in making a village farm.
9. Selecting the seed.
10. Making a seed sowing plan.
11. Changes taking place in the seed.
12. Cultivating the plants.
13. Making supports for our pea and bean plants to climb on.
14. Making a collection of seeds of various kinds of vegetables and flowers and labeling these.
15. Study of the various gardening and agricultural implements through using them.
16. Reading stories to find out what kind of agricultural tools the people in olden times used.
17. Harvesting our vegetables.
18. Cooking some of these vegetables.
19. Making split peas (or dal) from some of these vegetables.
20. Making the best use of the stalks of our plants.
21. Planning a harvest thanksgiving service.
22. Preparing a harvest drama.

23. A sand table illustration of a harvest scene in Bible times.
24. Planning an exhibit of our work in the garden project.

II. *Valuable Spontaneous Creative Activities Suggested by the Pupils* which concern the local environment and its interests should be added.

III. *Investigative or Problem Activities for the Second Grade* (suggestive of those which might arise as pupils' interests and purposes in their village garden project):

1. *What place or site shall we select for our garden?* Inquiring as to what sites are available. Need of visiting and examining these before making a choice. What shall we look for and ask about on our observation trip? Nearness to school; possibility of securing water; type of soil; general level of the ground; drainage; protection from wandering animals. Report of the trip; information secured; discussion plan and decision; application and proceedings necessary to secure its uses. What further investigations do we need to make?

Brief titles of other problem activities are:

2. What is the best soil for a garden?
3. In what direction does the water run with regard to this plot?
4. How many sources of irrigation water are there?
5. How is a field prepared for sowing?
6. Where do most of the farmers secure their seeds?
7. What do we need to do to help the seeds grow best?
8. What provision is made for these vegetable plants (pea, bean, lauki) to pull themselves upward or along the ground.
9. Finding out how the flowers of these three vegetables compare?
10. How can we protect our vegetables from destructive insects?
11. How can we conserve moisture in the soil?
12. Finding out how the farmer harrows his field.
13. What work does the sun and rain do in making plants grow?

14. What shall we do with our harvested vegetables?
15. What does the shopkeeper do with the vegetables he buys?
16. Finding out how many different varieties of peas, beans, lauki (pumpkin) are there?
17. Why are fresh vegetables better for one's health than dried ones?
18. What changes take place in the plant when the growing season is finished?
19. What shall we do with the proceeds received from our vegetables?
20. What shall we do with the land after the vegetable vines are removed?
21. What does the farmer contribute to the home? to the village?
22. What does the village owe to the farmer?
23. How can cattle be kept out of our plots?
24. How many different vegetables are eaten by village people?
25. How do people in cold countries secure vegetables during the winter?

IV. *Recreative Activities for the Second Grade*

Stories told by the teachers. Further stories from "The Treasure Chest," from "The Village Teachers' Journal," from "The Phul," and other children's magazines. Stories secured from the books listed in grades 1 and 2, supplementary books, and also folk tales, geographical and travel stories, hygiene and sanitary stories, nature stories, Bible stories, temperance stories, etc.

Telling of stories by children. There should be a discussion of the interest of the story, standards of why pupils liked or did not like it, something of its quality and literary appeal and judgment of the way it was told. In Christian schools many Bible stories will be emphasized.

Stories read by the pupils. Stories from many different sources including the reading of directions and other information which pupils need for their work.

Indian singing and music. Increasing appreciation of both vocal and instrumental music. Singing simple folk songs and music for action games. Creative music on Indian instruments (Play level).

Worship and Service. Preparation for periods of worship and for opening exercises. Development of reverence, understanding, praise, and fellowship.

Dramas. Growing understanding, appreciation, and enjoyments of dramatics. Utilization of these in classes, school assembly, and evening worship.

Pictures. Special attention to home and child scenes; the beauties of nature; farming and occupational life; and animal pictures. Building up appreciation of the beautiful and stimulating creative expression in this field.

Social Fellowship. Class discussion regarding interest, ideas, and activities; working and playing together; group organization to accomplish social ends.

Games. These involve indoor and outdoor ones; imitative and advancing movements, folk dances and dramatic expression, breaks, and the working out of a balanced program.

V. *Activities to Secure Habits, Skills, and Attitudes*

Testing the achievement of each pupil in each subject with reference to his speed and accuracy as these are related to objective standards. Diagnosing of weaknesses and providing such remedial practice exercises as will best assist the pupils to reach the accepted standards.

VI. *Subject Matter Outcomes*

For those who are fearful that the requirements of the official course of study can not be attained by this activity work, a brief resumé of the possible subject matter learnings is given.

Reading for information to carry on the activity (from books, papers, and the blackboard); reading for pleasure; *writing* signs, invitations, brief letters and requests. Picture writing description of the work in the book (Our Village Farm), labeling seed envelopes, exhibits, etc.; *arithmetic* in measuring, dividing up the plot, making a straight line, a right angle and a measuring tape; keeping simple accounts; figuring costs and profits; thrift work; seed problems; construction problems; buying and selling; weighing; use of proceeds received from selling vegetables; related arithmetic problems for other gardens, farms, and markets. Measurements of weight, length, time, and money. Also simple fractions, counting by 2's, 4's, 6's, 12's, counting money and making change (simple). There are also large possibilities for *language work* in class discussion and telling and retelling of stories. In *geography*, there is emphasis upon the sources of food, utensils and tools, markets, the local environments; weather conditions and adjustments to them; geographical forms and making plans and ground maps. *Nature study* is abundantly cared for, and *hygiene* is emphasized in the selection, preparation and eating of food, bodily cleanliness, pure water, clean surroundings. Besides these, there is emphasis upon *Bible study*, worship and service, upon *industrial and fine arts* and upon *ideals, attitudes, and appreciations* for both individual and social development.

B. FURTHER CREATIVE ACTIVITIES FOR THE SECOND GRADE

I. *Central Project—A cotton and cloth project*

25. Planning to grow some cotton to make a shirt.
26. Selecting the plot and preparing the seed bed.
27. Selecting the cotton seed, and sowing it in the best way.
28. Careful cultivation of the cotton plant.
29. Keeping a record of the development of our plants.
30. Gathering the cotton from our plot.
31. Removing traces of the pod and plant fiber.
32. Cleaning the cotton.
33. Fluffing the cotton and preparing it for spinning.
34. Hand spinning.
35. Hand weaving of cloth.
36. Kinds of cotton cloth.
37. Dyeing of cloth.
38. Observing how a shirt is made.
39. Care of our clothing.
40. Making a series of charts illustrating the process "From a Cotton Seed to a Khaki Shirt."
41. Making a collection of pictures of clothing worn by people in other parts of India.
42. Making a booklet for the Class Library on "Cotton Growing and Manufacture in Other Countries."
43. Doing some spool knitting.

44. Making an exhibit of knitted products.
45. Sand table model of a pastural scene. (Representation of “David Watching his Sheep” or “The Parable of the Good Shepherd.”
46. Observation of a flock of sheep and of the way they are cared for.
47. Making a sling shot and a shepherd’s crook.
48. Washing “raw wool” and dyeing it.
49. Learning how to make dyes.
50. Making a color chart.
51. Getting the wool ready for spinning.
52. Twisting a wool sliver into a thread.
53. Making a hand loom.
54. Making a collection of wood products.
55. Making a booklet illustrating “The Story of Wool.”
56. Making a collection of different kinds of fibers which may be used in weaving various articles.
57. Making some thick rope from “san” hemp.
58. Making a chart showing the making and use of rope.

II. *Further Investigative or Problem Activities for the Second Grade* (for the Cotton and Cloth Project)

26. What is the most suitable soil for cotton?
27. Are there different kinds of cotton seed?
28. What is the most favorable kind of weather for producing cotton?
29. How is the temperature of a place measured?
30. How can we cause wind?
31. How can we measure the amount of rain which falls?
32. Comparison of different types of cotton plants and contrasting these with fodder or grain plants.
33. What damage does the boll weevil do to cotton?
34. Watching a cotton drill at work.
35. Observing the bullocks which draw this drill.
36. Finding out how bullocks are cared for.
37. How does the smith put iron shoes on a bullock?
38. How is cotton cleaned in our village?
39. How long has cotton been spun and woven in India?
40. How much cotton cloth would it take to make a shirt? How much to clothe the people in our family?

41. Visiting a weaver at work and learning how he weaves cloth.
42. Where is the cotton shipped to from our village?
43. What are the different uses of cotton?
44. What is done with the cotton seeds?
45. What can the flexible cotton branches be used for?
46. What was used for clothing before cloth was known?
47. Observation of a great natural weaver (the spider).
48. Observing how the Heavenly Father clothes the birds, and the fields with grass and flowers.
49. Where do birds get their food? What foods do birds like best?
50. How is water brought from the canal (river, tank, well) to our cotton fields?
51. Observing the habits of a village shepherd's flock of sheep and goats.
52. What stories or pictures of sheep have you seen?
53. What interesting Bible stories are there about sheep and shepherds.
54. How are sheep washed? How is the wool sheared from them?
55. Inquiring as to what other materials are secured from sheep.
56. Securing the information necessary to make a wool product map of the district.
57. Watching someone spinning with a spinning wheel.
58. How did the people of olden times utilize sheep's wool in clothing?
59. How can we tell woolen cloth from a mixture of wool and cotton?
60. How should woolen cloth or garments be washed and cleaned?
61. What eats the little holes in woolen goods? How prevent this?
62. How should holes in woolen cloth be repaired?
63. Examining rugs or woven products to see how this work is done.
64. Studying pictures of sheep raising and the shearing of wool in other countries.
65. Where is the wool from our village (or district) sent?

C. FURTHER CREATIVE ACTIVITIES FOR THE SECOND GRADE

I. *Central Project—A Milk and Dairying Project and Miscellaneous Activities*

59. Raising and caring for goats.
60. Testing milk.
61. Boiling some milk.
62. Making some butter or ghi.
63. Making a churn such as is used in the home.
64. Making dahi and lassi. (Curds and whey).
65. Making cottage cheese.
66. Listing the various products of milk.
67. Preparing a drama showing the kind of food a child should eat.
68. Making charts, posters, and pictures to explain the value of milk as a food.
69. Collecting pictures and making an album on "Dairying in Other Lands."
70. Working out a booklet on an Indian farm and pastural scenes.
71. Making a bird chart.
72. Making a product map of the way the land about the village is used.
73. Dramatizing a harvest scene.
74. Building up a class library.
75. Building up a class collection of pictures.
76. Making Christmas cards and greetings.
77. Making a temperature, wind, and weather chart.
78. Making a weather vane to find out the direction of the wind.
79. Making a map of an observation trip the class has taken.
80. Making preparations for celebrating Christmas.
81. Preparing a hygiene drama on "A Small, but Dangerous Enemy" (fly).
82. Constructing a fly swatter.
83. Making a sand table model of the cattle fair visited by the class.
84. Planning and preparing a service of worship to be held out of doors for the whole school.

85. Planting a tree near the school to shade our room from the sun.
86. Washing our heads and caring for our hair.
87. Keeping a health and hygiene record.
88. Making a takhti (wooden tablet for writing).
89. Making pens in order to have good writing materials.
90. Making a bulletin board for the classroom.
91. Listing what we have learned of the work which fathers and mothers do. Also what we can do to help them and make home a bright, happy, healthful place.

II. Further Investigative or Problem Activities for the Second Grade (for the Milk and Dairying Project)

66. Visiting a farmer having a number of cows or goats.
67. Observation of how cows are milked.
68. Finding out whether cow's or goat's milk is better and which is cheaper.
69. Observing what are some of the main differences between cows and goats and which is harder to care for.
70. Why should we drink some milk each day?
71. What are the things we should eat each day in order to grow strong?
72. How should milk be cared for and stored?
73. What other things besides milk does the cow supply for man's use?
74. How many different types of cows are there in our village?
75. What other milk producing animals are there in the village?
76. What are some of the official regulations about milk?
77. What can we do to make our parents and others realize that only pure, unexposed milk should be given to children?
78. How can we secure and sell milk to the pupils at recess?
79. What effect does changes of season have on cultivation about the village?
80. What adjustments should be made in one's clothing to meet changes in temperature?

81. What are the harvest customs of the village?
82. How can we help a poor family in the village have a happy Christmas?
83. Learning how we can best care for our eyes.
84. Finding out what birds are most helpful to the farmer.
85. How can we secure some interesting things for our class bulletin board each day.
86. Visit to a letter writer.
87. Examination of the maps of farm and village lands which the patwari has.
88. Visiting a weaver of tape or cloth.
89. Finding out how the work of the various village occupations provides us with food and clothes.
90. Finding out how we can select really good, interesting books to read out of school hours.

These investigative activities (or rather such of them as are accepted by the pupils) *should be supplemented by activities and inquiries which interest pupils and which they actually need.* They should also be supplemented by many recreational, expressional and practice projects (See A, IV, V.) As stated previously the pupils of the class along with the teacher are really the makers of the curriculum, and the activities given here are to be considered as suggestions and as guiding posts to the type of pupil interest and activity which has real educational and character forming power.

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